

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1255592-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 114

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U. S. Department of Justice

(MATERIAL MUST NOT BE REMOVED FROM OR ADDED TO)

9-HQ-51593-1



Serials 1-

HQ-51593

Sec. 1

FEDERAL BUREAU

*of*

INVESTIGATION

DO NOT  
DESTROY

FOIPA# 1085434

USE CARE IN HANDLING THIS FILE

Transfer-Call 421

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20537



## REPORT

of the

## IDENTIFICATION DIVISION

## LATENT FINGERPRINT SECTION

EX 106

YOUR FILE NO.

FBI FILE NO.

LATENT CASE NO.

9-1931

9-51593

A-25371

September 8, 1970

TO: SAC, Denver

RE: GEORGE F. KENNAN;  
 [REDACTED] - VICTIM  
 EXTORTION

b6  
b7C

REFERENCE:

EXAMINATION REQUESTED BY:

SPECIMENS:

Airtel 8/15/70

Denver

Q1, envelope

Q2, letter

Listed Q specimens described separate Laboratory report.

No latent prints of value developed on enclosed specimens.

MAILED 23

SEP 8 - 1970

COMM-FBI

Enc. (2)

1 - Newark

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
 Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MES:slf

(5)

54 SEP 16 1970

John Edgar Hoover, Director

THIS REPORT IS FURNISHED FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Recorded  
8/21/70 dkm

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
LATENT

No Lab File

Laboratory Work Sheet

Recorded: 9-3-70 2:15 P.M.

Received: 9-3-70 gls

Re:

File # 9-51593

George F. Kennan,

Lab. # D-700818037 LW

[redacted] - Victim;

LC#A-25671

EXTORTION

OO: Denyer

Examination requested by: Denver (9-1931) A. 8/15/70

Examination requested: Document - Fingerprint

Date received: 8/17/70

Result of Examination:

Examination by: [redacted]

Named Subject:

GEORGE F. KENNAN

Noted By:

*9-3-70*  
*spec for (I-VI), no lats*  
*per re-spray of (VII), no lats*  
*Spec for (SV) no lats*  
Note: ret evid

Note: Expedite

Specimens submitted for examination

Q1 Envelope postmarked "Trenton, New Jersey, 8/9/70 a.m."  
addressed to "[redacted]"  
[redacted], Colorado"

Q2 Sheet of paper bearing handwritten letter beginning  
"God does not ..." and ending "Signed Red Hitler"

*Searched Handwriting*  
*III A White*

*color*

*New Jersey*

*Delaware*

*Pd.*

*New York*

*Specs sent*  
*Lab reg reg*

*9-8-70*  
*9-8-70*  
*9-8-70*  
*9-8-70*

Examination completed *11:30*

Time

*9/4/70*

Date

Dictated *9/4/70*

Date

*1 CC newark*

F B I

Date: 8/15/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
ATTENTION: FBI LABORATORY

FROM: SAC, DENVER (9-1931)(P)

SUBJECT: GEORGE F. KENNAN;  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM  
EXTORTION  
OO: Denver

700818037  
3-1  
6-1

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] Colorado,  
born [REDACTED]  
is [REDACTED]

Enclosed to the Bureau under obscene cover is original (and one Xerox copy) of a handwritten letter and envelope in which it was received by [REDACTED] on the afternoon of 8/10/70.

The plain blue envelope, approximately 4 1/2" X 9 1/2", addressed to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Colorado, is postmarked at Trenton, New Jersey,

- 2 - Bureau (RM)(RRR)(Enc. 3)
  - 3 - Newark (Enc. 2)(RM)
  - 2 - Denver
- PEB:sls  
(7)

MCT-48

REC-115

AUG 17 1970

SEP 11 1970

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

COPY 1-1-2  
SPECIMENS RETAINED IN LAB 6-17-2567

COPY RETAINED IN  
PERSONNEL RECORDS UNIT

DN 9-1931

8/9/70, and bears a six cent Franklin D. Roosevelt U.S. postage stamp. The back of the envelope bears the return address, "Mr. GEORGE F. KENNAN, 67 Nassau Rd., Princeton, New Jersey, 08540". The address and the return address on the envelope are handwritten in what appears to be blue ink or blue ball-point pen.

The letter dated 8/8/70, handwritten on a blue lined, yellow sheet of 8 1/2" X 11" paper with a line of small round, perforations on the left edge, indicating that it might have been torn from a spiral notebook. The blue writing in the letter appears to have been made by the same type instrument used in addressing the envelope.

The first two paragraphs of the letter are highly scurrilous and obscene, referring to [redacted] his wife, and [redacted], referred to by the writer as [redacted].

b6  
b7C

The last paragraph states, "I have placed you on my list of those who are to face a communist firing squad."

The letter is signed, "RED HITLER". In the lower left hand corner appears a crude drawing of a skull and in the lower right hand corner is the drawing of a swastika emblem.

This matter was first reported to the Denver Office on 8/14/70 by [redacted], [redacted], now employed as [redacted].

[redacted] was immediately interviewed by a Denver Agent and stated that he and [redacted], are the only persons who have handled this letter since it was opened by him at his residence when it was received there in the mail on the afternoon of 8/10/70. He related that neither he nor [redacted] have any idea as to the identity of GEORGE F. KENNAN. They have no family connections in Trenton or Princeton, New Jersey, that might prompt any such letter from that area. [redacted] stated that he and [redacted] first considered ignoring the letter completely but after discussing it with [redacted], accepted his suggestion to turn the matter over to the FBI on 8/14/70.

DN 9-1931

[redacted] pointed out that [redacted] referred to in the letter is not his daughter, but might be identical with [redacted], age [redacted],

[redacted] resides in [redacted], exact address unknown, and is known to her friends as [redacted].

Other [redacted]

[redacted], are:

This matter was discussed with AUSA JAMES R. RICHARDS, District of Colorado, on the afternoon of 8/14/70, and he stated that although he believes the threat against [redacted] contained in the letter is "marginal" under the Federal Extortion Statute, he desires to withhold a prosecutive opinion until sufficient inquiry has been made to identify KENNAN and determine the motive behind this letter. He requested that background information be developed on KENNAN and that he be interviewed concerning this matter as soon as he can be located.

DN 9-1931

REQUESTS OF FBI LABORATORY

Search anonymous letter files for any documents that might be identified with the same source as the enclosed letter.

Furnish any information available that might identify KENNAN as a prolific letter writer.

Report any information developed from examination as to type and origin of paper and writing instrument used.

Examine letter and envelope for any identifiable latent fingerprints.

It is requested that the original letter and envelope be handled as evidence and returned to Denver with report of Laboratory examination as soon as possible.

LEADS

NEWARK DIVISION

AT PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

(1) Determine the identity of persons residing at 67 Nassau Road and whether GEORGE F. KENNAN resides or is known at that address.

(2) Develop pertinent background information on KENNAN and interview him specifically concerning this letter, the identity of the writer, and his specific motive in directing this letter to [REDACTED]. (Enc. two Xerox copies of letter)

Please expedite and forward airtel summary to Denver as soon as possible.

b6  
b7c



FBI

Date: 8/20/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Brennan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (ATTN: FBI LAB)

FROM: SAC, NEWARK (9-2495) (P)

SUBJECT: GEORGE F. KENNAN;  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM  
EXTORTION  
(OO: DENVER)

*Gifford*  
6-  
3-  
700824073

b6  
b7C

Re Denver airtel to the Bureau dated 8/15/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau, under obscene cover, are the original and one xerox copy of an application for employment at [REDACTED], prepared by [REDACTED] and original and one xerox copy of five sheets of paper containing handwriting of [REDACTED].

The above five sheets of paper were made available by [REDACTED] Princeton, N.J. She rents a room to [REDACTED] and found these sheets of paper in garbage disposed of by [REDACTED].

On 8/19/70, SAs [REDACTED] contacted GEORGE FROST KENNAN. Mr. KENNAN is a permanent Professor at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N.J. and is well acquainted with Agents of the Trenton RA. He resides at 146 Hodge Rd., Princeton, N.J. Mr. KENNAN served as a member of the Diplomatic Corps of the U.S. State Department for 30 years and retired. He served as Ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1950 at the request of former President HARRY S. TRUMAN and served as Ambassador to Yugoslavia at the request of former President JOHN F. KENNEDY. He is, additionally, acquainted with Assistant to the Director SULLIVAN.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 12) (RM)
- 2 - Denver (9-1931)
- 2 - Newark

BEC/djd

(7) CC - [REDACTED]

ENCLOSURE

REC-30

ST-121

SEP 3 1970

SEARCHED  
SERIALIZED  
INDEXED  
FILED

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

COPY... SPECIMENS RETURNED IN LAB  
9-2495-25671  
9-2495-25671

03-7 K-1

U.S.S.R.

9-18-70  
RD7:nte

NK 9-2495

Mr. KENNAN advised that he is not acquainted with [redacted]. Noting that the postmark on the letter to [redacted] was 8/9/70, Mr. KENNAN stated he and his wife returned from Europe that day and arrived home late that night.

b6  
b7C

Mr. KENNAN advised that he is not acquainted with [redacted], Princeton, N.J.

The Bureau and Denver should refer to Newark airtel to the Bureau dated 8/18/70, captioned, "[redacted] - VICTIM; [redacted] - VICTIM; EXTORTION; OO: NK."

After a cursory inspection of letter received by [redacted], Newark feels [redacted], Princeton, N.J., possibly wrote letter to [redacted] is described as follows:

Race  
Sex  
DOB  
POB  
Height  
Weight  
Hair  
Eyes  
Prior Arrest

[redacted]

[redacted] has been interviewed concerning matter involving [redacted] and admitted writing obscene letters to them. Three of these letters are being forwarded to the Lab by separate airtel under [redacted] caption.

Additional attempts were made to interview [redacted] on 8/20/70, but he declined interview, except to deny he wrote [redacted] letter. He did state, however, he knew [redacted] was a regent at [redacted].

[redacted] has been employed as a porter at [redacted], Princeton, N.J., since 5/70. He was fired on [redacted] for falsification of his application, after [redacted] learned that he had been arrested in Boulder, Colorado. He advised on 8/20/70, he planned to remain in the Princeton, N.J., area.

[redacted] admitted being under psychiatric care from age 16 - 21, and of being hospitalized on two occasions for mental disorders.

The FBI Lab is requested to compare the handwriting

NK 9-2495

on the enclosed items with original letter submitted by referenced Denver airtel in this matter.

The Latent Fingerprint Section of the Identification Division is requested to compare any latent fingerprints obtained from the letter sent to [redacted] with the fingerprints of [redacted], noting he has been arrested by the Boulder, Colorado PD. b6 b7C

The Lab is requested to compare the items being submitted by separate airtel under [redacted] caption against items enclosed and [redacted] letter. Will expedite examination and forward Lab reports to Denver and Newark.

LEADS

DENVER

At Boulder, Colorado: 1.) Will conduct criminal check concerning [redacted] at Boulder PD.

Will also check employment and academic records at University of Colorado, Boulder for information concerning [redacted], noting that he states that he was a [redacted] and attended that University for one year.

2.) Will contact [redacted], Colorado Bureau of Investigation Agent, who reportedly has information concerning [redacted] and is in possession of a letter from [redacted].

3.) Will advise USA of results of Lab examination if [redacted] identified as writer of [redacted] letter, noting that this section of the USC provides the subject with the right to be indicted and tried in district where letter mailed.

NEWARK

At Princeton, N.J.: Will take appropriate action upon receipt of information from the Bureau and Denver.

1 -



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535**

**FBI, Denver (9-1931)**

**September 2, 1970**

To:

Date:

Re:

**GEORGE F. KENNAN;  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM;  
EXTORTION  
OO: Denver**

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover, Director

**9-51593  
D-700818037 LW**

FBI File No.  
Lab. No.

**Denver**

Examination requested by:

**Airtel 8/15/70**

Reference:

**Document - Fingerprint**

Examination requested:

Remarks:

**Q1 and Q2 will be returned with the results of  
the latent fingerprint examination.**

**No reference is made in the attached report  
concerning the identity of GEORGE F. KENNAN as his identity  
has been established according to more recently received  
information from Denver.**

**Enclosures (2) (2 Lab report)**

**EX 106**

**REC 11**

**9-51593-3**

**SEP 10 1970**

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

**ENCLOSURE**

**MAILED 3**

**SEP 2 - 1970**

**COMM-FBI**

**GRH:rap (4)**

**ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE**

**59 SEP 14 1970**

**TELETYPE UNIT**

*Release  
9/18  
J. Edgar Hoover  
9/16*

# REPORT of the



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: **FBI, Denver (9-1931)**

Re: **GEORGE F. KENNAN;  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM:  
EXTORTION**

Date: **September 2, 1970**  
FBI File No. **9-51593 - 3**  
Lab. No. **D-700818037 LW**

b6  
b7C

Specimens received **8/17/70**

- Q1 Envelope postmarked "Trenton, New Jersey, 8/9/70 p.m." addressed to "[REDACTED], [REDACTED], [REDACTED], Colorado"**
- Q2 Sheet of paper bearing handwritten letter beginning "God does not..." and ending "Signed Red Hitler"**

### Result of examination:

Specimens Q1 and Q2 were not identified with material contained in the Anonymous Letter File. Copies have been added.

No watermarks, indented writing or other indications of source are noted. The writing on specimens Q1 and Q2 was done with blue and black ball-point pens.

Photographs and descriptive data concerning Q1 and Q2 are retained. Q1 and Q2 will be returned separately.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Recorded  
8/21/70 dkm

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
LATENT

Laboratory Work Sheet

No Lab File

Re:

George F. Kennan;  
[redacted] - Victim;  
EXTORTION  
OO: Denver

File #

Lab. # D-700818037 LW

9-51593-3

b6  
b7C

Examination requested by: Denver (9-1931) A. 8/15/70

9/1/60

Examination requested: Document - Fingerprint

Date received: 8/17/70

Result of Examination:

Examination by: [redacted]

Not id ALF, add  
No WM, Indians, other indication of source noted.  
Writing done by blue & black ballpt. pens.  
Photos & descriptive data retained - Q, Q- net. sep. (L. Fox)

T.F. No reference is made in attached report to ... is  
ident. of Geo. F. Kennan as he identity has been  
established according to more recently received info  
from Denver.

Specimens submitted for examination

Q1 Envelope postmarked "Trenton, New Jersey, 8/9/70 p.m."  
addressed to "[redacted], [redacted],  
[redacted], Colorado"

Q2 Sheet of paper bearing handwritten letter beginning  
"God does not ..." and ending "Signed Red Hitler"

Searched Handwriting  
[redacted]

Colo.  
New Jersey  
Delaware  
PA.  
New York

Q. Q.  
9/2/70  
GRH/jpf

PHOTOGRAPHED

AUG 21 1970

Q-1 Large blue envelope - 6¢ Stamps - Booklet.  
Measures. 9.48 x 4.1 x .004  
No Indented writing / No Watermarks.

Q-2 Large yellow sheet of paper bearing 3¢  
Stamps. (Heavy). Torn from spiral pad.  
Measures. 8.41 x 10.9 x 0.0033.  
No Indented writing / No Watermarks, no text.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Recorded  
8/21/70 dkm

**LATENT**  
Laboratory Work Sheet

No Lab 1

Re:

George F. Kennan,  
[redacted] - Victim;  
**EXTORTION**  
**OO: Denver**

File # 9-515-93-3  
Lab. # D-700818037 LW

Examination requested by: **Denver (9-1931) A. 8/15/70**

Examination requested: **Document - Fingerprint**

Date received: **8/17/70**

Result of Examination:

Examination by: [redacted]

Q1 & Q2 to LFPs for return to DN  
9/1 GRU

b6  
b7C

Received by LFPs

*RMZ* 9-3-70

*Specs returned encl  
LFPs rep 9/8/70*

Specimens submitted for examination

Q1 Envelope postmarked "Trenton, New Jersey, 8/9/70 p.m."  
addressed to "[redacted]  
[redacted], Colorado"

Q2 Sheet of paper bearing handwritten letter beginning  
"God does not ..." and ending "Signed Red Hitler"

**PHOTOGRAPHED**

AUG 2 119/0

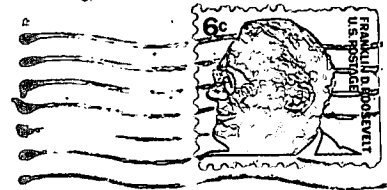


7337



ENCLOSURE

9-51593-3



b6  
b7c

718 452818002

9-515 93-2

Mr. George F. Keenan  
67 Nassau Rd.  
Princeton, N. J.

08540

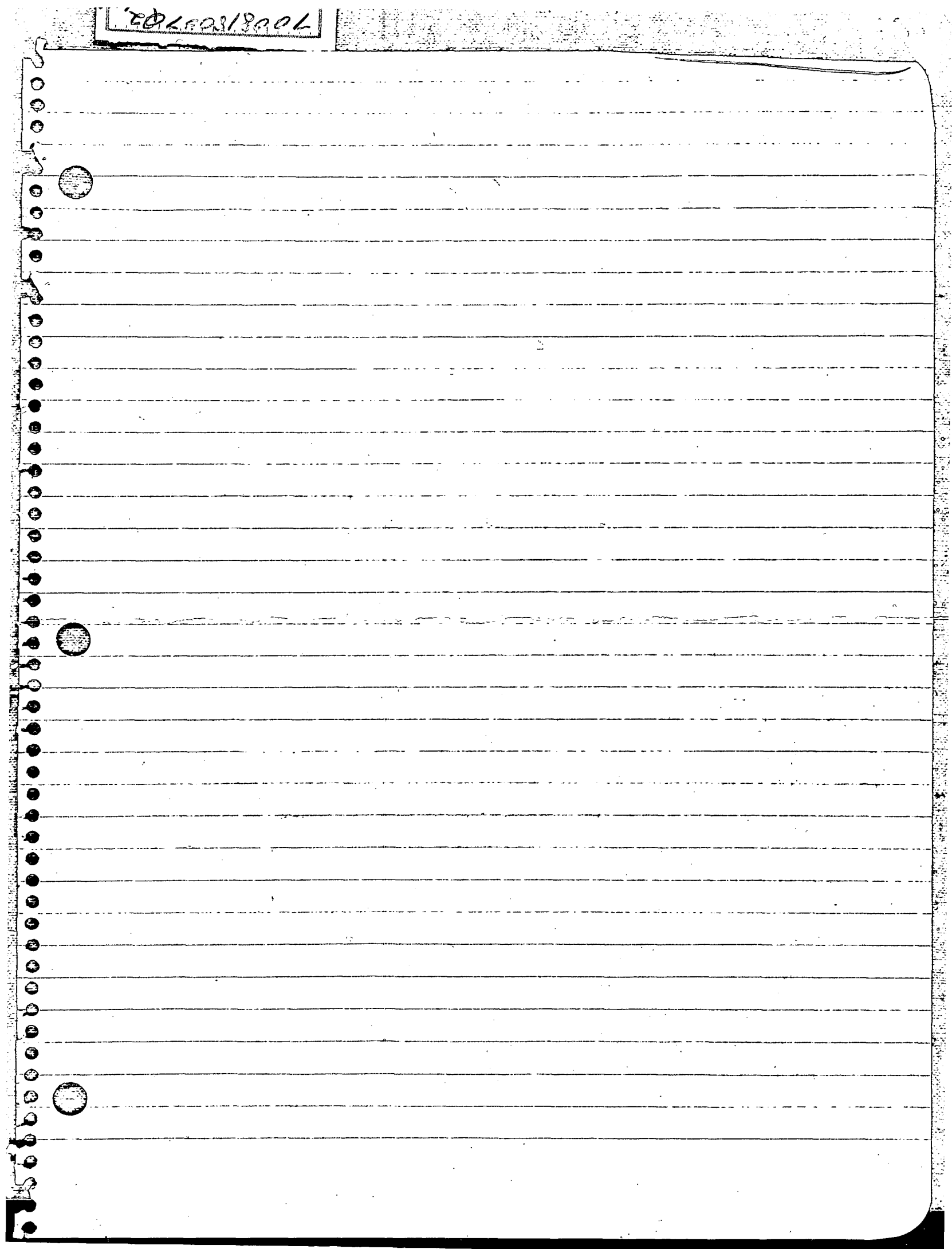
700818057 0144

9-51593-3

Mr. George F. Kennan  
67 Nassau Rd.  
Princeton, N. J.

08540

7008100702



**DOCUMENT (S) CANNOT  
BE SCANNED**

**DESCRIPTION:**

**PHOTO NEGATIVES**



FILE# .

700 818 037

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

EXAMINER

# LW

Q#

Q-1-2

K#

NEGATIVES

INITIALS \_\_\_\_\_

FILE#

9-51593

DATE

\_\_\_\_\_

EXAMINER

#

HW

Q#

Q-1-2

K#

NEGATIVES

INITIALS

\_\_\_\_\_



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535**

To: **FBI, Denver (9-1931)**

Date: **September 23, 1970**

Re: **UNSUB, aka  
George F. Kennan;  
 - VICTIM  
EXTORTION  
OO: Denver**

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover, Director  
**REC-127**  
**[EX-112]** File No. **9-51593-4**  
Lab. No. **D-700904059 LW**

Examination requested by: **Denver**

Reference: **Airtel 9/2/70**

Examination requested: **Document**

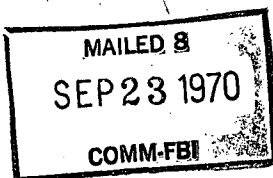
Remarks:

**Numerous handwriting similarities indicate the questioned writing on specimens Qc8 through Qc15 was very probably written by .**

b6  
b7C

**Enclosures (10) (Qc8 through Qc15, 2 Lab report)  
1 - Denver (9-1933) Enclosure (Lab report)  
2 - Newark (1 - 9-2495) (1 - 9-2497) Enclosures (2) (2 Lab report)**

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



*rap*  
GRH:rap (7)

*CRH*

*Rouse*

*300*  
*To*

**54 OCT 14 1970**  
MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

**ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE**

# REPORT of the



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: **FBI, Denver (9-1931)**

Re: **UNSUB, aka  
George F. Koppa;  
[redacted] - VICTIM  
EXTORTION**

Date: **September 23, 1970**  
FBI File No. **9-51593**  
Lab. No. **D-700904059 LW**

b6  
b7C

Specimens received **9/4/70**

**Qc8 Photocopy of envelope postmarked "TRENTON, NJ 1B PM  
9 AUG 1970," bearing handwritten address "[redacted]"**

**Colorado"**

**Qc9 Photocopy of one-page handwritten letter beginning  
"Dear [redacted], Please..." ending "...Yours,"**

**Qc10 Photocopy of envelope postmarked "TRENTON NJ PM 8  
AUG 1970," bearing handwritten address "Sheriff  
Police Department [redacted], Colorado"**

**Qc11 Photocopy of accompanying one-page handwritten letter  
beginning "Dear Sheriff, [redacted]..." ending "...[redacted]"**

**Qc12 Envelope postmarked " [redacted] 1970 J 7 AM,"  
bearing handwritten address "[redacted]"  
[redacted], Colo."  
bearing on back handwritten message**

**Qc13 Photocopy of four cards bearing handwritten message  
beginning "members of..." ending "...bunny!"**

**Qc14 Photocopy of two-page handwritten letter beginning  
"Dear [redacted] - "Hello"-Do you..." ending  
"...With Sinister intent, [redacted]"**

**Qc15 Photocopies of two charts and two letters to the  
Editor signed "[redacted]"**

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

**Page 1**

**(continued on next page)**

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

**Result of examination:**

Due to the poor quality of photocopies, no definite conclusion was reached whether the questioned writing on specimens Qc8 through Qcl5 was written by [REDACTED], whose known handwriting is designated K1 and K2.

b6  
b7C

Specimens Qc8 through Qcl5 are returned herewith to Denver. Photocopies of these specimens are retained.

RECORDED

9/14/70

rap

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICELaboratory Work Sheet

NO LAB FILE

Re: UNSUB, aka  
George F. Kennan;  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM  
EXTORTION  
OO: Denver

File # 9-51593 - 4  
Lab. # D-700904059 LW

b6  
b7c

Examination requested by: DENVER (9-1931) A. 9/2/70

Examination requested: Document

Date received: 9/4/70

Result of Examination:

Examination by: [REDACTED] *q/m*

*Due to poor quality of photocopies no def. correct Qc8 - Qc15  
with [REDACTED] K.H. -  
Copies returned - not. h.w.,  
T.F. [REDACTED] = very prop. ident*

Specimens submitted for examination

Qc8 Photocopy of envelope postmarked "TRENTON, NJ 1B PM  
9 AUG 1970," bearing handwritten address "[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED],  
Colorado"

Qc9 Photocopy of one-page handwritten letter beginning  
"Dear [REDACTED], Please...", ending XXX "...Yours,  
[REDACTED]"

Qc10 Photocopy of envelope postmarked "TRENTON NJ PM 8 AUG  
1970," bearing handwritten address "Sheriff Police  
Department [REDACTED], Colorado"

Qc11 Photocopy of accompanying one-page handwritten letter  
beginning "Dear Sheriff, [REDACTED]...", ending "... [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]"

Page 1

*Denver 9-1931 J.R.  
9-1933 9/23/70  
2 Newark (9-2495) G.R.H./MD  
9-2497*

(continued on next page)

- Qc12 Envelope postmarked " 1970 J 7 AM,"  
bearing handwritten address "[redacted]  
[redacted], Colo."  
bearing on back handwritten message
- Qc13 Photocopy of four cards bearing handwritten message  
beginning "members of...," ending "...bunny!"
- Qc14 Photocopy of two-page handwritten letter beginning  
"Dear [redacted] -"Hello"- Do you...," ending  
"...With Sinister intent, [redacted]"
- Qc15 Photocopies of two charts and two letters to the  
Editor signed "[redacted]"

b6  
b7C

Qs

↓  
D  
L P



b6  
b7C

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS FOR YOUR INFORMATION ONLY  
AND IS NOT TO BE USED FOR ANY OTHER PURPOSE.

THE INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE. IT IS THE POLICY OF THE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION TO MAKE ALL INFORMATION  
CONTAINED HEREIN AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE FROM THE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, 400 ...

FOR MORE INFORMATION, CONTACT THE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, 400 ...  
OR THE ...



FBI

Date: 9/2/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI  
ATTENTION: FBI LABORATORY

FROM : SAC, DENVER (9-1931)(P)

SUBJECT: "CHANGED"  
UNSUB, aka.,  
George F. Kennan;  
[redacted] - VICTIM  
EXTORTION  
OO: DENVER

[redacted];  
[redacted], aka.  
[redacted] - VICTIM;  
[redacted] - VICTIM  
EXTORTION  
OO: NEWARK  
Denver file: 9-1933

Title of the first caption being changed to reflect Unsub, aka., George F. Kennan since GEORGE FROST KENNAN, Princeton, New Jersey, has been identified as a professor at the Institute of Advanced Studies, Princeton University, and former U. S. Ambassador to Russia and Yugoslavia, and has been eliminated as a suspect.

Re Denver airtel to the Bureau, dated 8/15/70, and Newark airtels to the Bureau, dated 8/20/70.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 3)(RM)
- 2 - Albany
- 2 - Charlotte
- 2 - Cincinnati
- 2 - Newark (1 - 9-2495)(Enc. 4)
- 1 - (1 - 9-2497)
- 2 - New York
- 4 - Denver (2 - 9-1931)
- 2 - (2 - 1933)

PEB/lld  
(17)

Approved: SEP 16 1970  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

700904059

REC-29-51583-4

9-51593

3 SEP 4 1970

SEVEN

SIX

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 9-51607-

SEP 15 1970  
SEP 14 1970

RECEIVED  
GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE  
FBI - LABORATORY

SEP 14 1 35 PM '70

F. B. I.  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED  
SEP 4 11 18 AM '70  
DOCUMENT LABORATORY  
F B I  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

REC'D  
FBI-LABORATORY  
SEP 17 2 35 PM '70

The following investigation was conducted at [redacted], Colorado, by SA [redacted]:

b6  
b7C

On 8/28/70, [redacted], Registrar, University of Colorado, advised [redacted] attended this institution from [redacted], to [redacted], at which time he was placed on academic suspension until [redacted]. He has not been in attendance since [redacted].

[redacted] stated [redacted] was born [redacted] in [redacted], New Jersey, and is a graduate of [redacted] High School, [redacted], New Jersey, where his parents [redacted] and [redacted] reside at [redacted]. [redacted] continued that in the application for admission to the [redacted], prepared by [redacted] on [redacted], he answered the question "Handicaps, if any" with the statement "Have been mentally ill." To the question "Have you any serious physical or emotional illnesses?" he answered in the affirmative. He explained this with the statement, "I have been mentally ill several times and have been hospitalized several times."

In addition, [redacted] advised there is a statement in his file from [redacted], Student Health Center, [redacted], to the effect that after consulting with [redacted], he feels he "could be considered fairly reasonable psychiatric risk." [redacted] stated that complete health records of students are available for inspection only with written consent of the student.

On 8/28/70, [redacted], Work-Study Program, [redacted], advised [redacted] was employed in the Department of Geological Sciences during the school year [redacted], to [redacted]. She stated his duties were not shown in these records, but was certain that it was only a part-time job or two or three hours per day.

On 8/28/70, [redacted], Secretary, and [redacted], Department of Geological Sciences, both advised the name [redacted] is unknown to them. Both pointed out they have many students working part time in this department, and in view of the lapse of time since [redacted] was reportedly employed, it would be difficult to locate anyone who would know him.

DN 9-1931

The following arrest record for [REDACTED]  
was provided by Lieutenant [REDACTED], [REDACTED], Colorado,  
Police Department:

<u>DATE OF ARREST</u>	<u>PLACE OF ARREST</u>	<u>CHARGE</u>	<u>DISPOSITION</u>
-----------------------	------------------------	---------------	--------------------

b6  
b7C

AT [REDACTED], COLORADO:

On 8/28/70, [REDACTED], [REDACTED], informed SA [REDACTED] that the name of [REDACTED] is not familiar to him, and that he has never known of any member of his family being acquainted with anyone by this name. He stated that in [REDACTED] he was a member of the Board of [REDACTED] at the [REDACTED], a position which he continues to occupy, and his name is undoubtedly familiar to most of the students who attended the [REDACTED] since [REDACTED].

He related that he has received no threatening or obscene letters or phone calls and nothing has happened since he was last contacted on 8/14/70 that might have any bearing on the obscene and threatening letter he had previously received, signed with the name of [REDACTED].

On 8/27/70, [REDACTED], Investigator, Colorado Bureau of Investigation (CBI), with headquarters at Denver, Colorado, furnished the following information to SA [REDACTED]:

b6  
b7C

Sometime in mid-July, 1970, he received a telephone call from [REDACTED], Sheriff, Summit County Sheriff's Office, Breckenridge, Colorado. [REDACTED] explained to [REDACTED] that he had just received a call from an anonymous male, who stated that a murder had been committed in Breckenridge; that [REDACTED] had murdered [REDACTED] and had buried her body behind the Ore Bucket Lodge, Breckenridge.

On the day following the call, Sheriff [REDACTED] went to the Ore Bucket, where he contacted [REDACTED], Manager of the lodge, to make inquiry about [REDACTED]. At this time [REDACTED] produced a letter addressed to [REDACTED], [REDACTED], Breckenridge, postmarked 7/7/70. [REDACTED] stated he picked up the letter and returned it to his office in Denver, but did not open it.

[REDACTED], through investigation, subsequently learned that [REDACTED] was married, using the married name of [REDACTED], and that she and her husband

resided at [redacted], Charlotte, North Carolina. He advised further that he had contact with [redacted] in Charlotte, who advised that his wife, [redacted], had received letters in the past signed [redacted], post-marked Princeton, New Jersey.

In addition, [redacted] stated he located [redacted] [redacted] who is now married and living with her husband, [redacted] Vermont. She advised [redacted] telephonically that she attended the University of Colorado in the fall of [redacted] at [redacted] Colorado. She said she had one date with [redacted], but "stood him up." She added that she had received approximately three letters from [redacted], but all addressed to the home of her father at [redacted] Ohio. She advised that she had seen [redacted] in the fall of 1969 at Burlington, Vermont, but made no contact with him as she was afraid of him. She further advised that she does not know anyone by the name of [redacted].

On 8/12/70, [redacted] stated that he received notification from the Sheriff at Breckenridge that he had received a letter addressed to him containing accusations about [redacted]. This letter was postmarked 8/9/70, Trenton, New Jersey, and signed by [redacted].

On 8/13/70, [redacted] of the Ore Bucket Lodge also received a letter postmarked 8/9/70, Trenton, New Jersey. This letter contained numerous obscenities and threats directed at [redacted]. This letter was signed [redacted].

On 8/15/70, [redacted] stated that upon the authority of an affidavit signed by [redacted], nee [redacted], and the U. S. Post Office, he opened the letter addressed to [redacted] at the Ore Bucket Lodge, which was the letter originally handed over to Sheriff [redacted] upon his initial contact at the Ore Bucket concerning the anonymous tip concerning the murder of [redacted] by [redacted].

This letter contains numerous threats and obscenities and a purported letter to the editor with graphs and charts concerning economic problems.

DN 9-1931

On 8/27/70, [ ] made available Xerox copies of all the material in his possession, including copies of all three letters. He stated that at this time he would hold the originals of all letters as investigation was continuing on a local basis, but that if Federal process were contemplated, he would make the originals available. All evidence, it appeared, had been protected by plastic and properly marked.

On 8/20/70, [ ] stated that [ ] at the Ore Bucket recieved a telephone call from an unidentified male who asked for [ ]. [ ] stated he pretended he had never heard of her but the caller said he would call back the following evening. This call was never returned.

He advised no further letters had been received.

Enclosed to Newark under obscene cover are Xerox copies of the three letters, originals of which are in the possession of [ ]. Also enclosed to Newark is one copy of a photograph of [ ] taken by the Denver Police Department on [ ] under their number [ ].

b6  
b7C

Enclosed to the Bureau, attention FBI Laboratory, under obscene cover, is one Xerox copy each of the letters in possession of Investigator [ ], CBI, described as follows:

(1) Letter postmarked 8/9/70 at Trenton, New Jersey, addressed to [ ], Ore Bucket Lodge, Breckenridge, Colorado," signed [ ];

(2) Letter postmarked 8/9/70, Trenton, New Jersey, addressed to "Sheriff, Police Department, Breckenridge, Colorado," signed [ ];

(3) Letter postmarked at Trenton, New Jersey, addressed to " [ ], Ore Bucket Lodge, Breckenridge, Colorado," signed [ ].

Enclosed with this handwritten letter was a typed letter addressed "Letter to the editor," signed [ ]. [ ]. Xerox attached as a part of the handwritten letter.

DN 9-1931

The FBI Laboratory is requested, if possible, to compare the handwriting on the Xerox copies with writing appearing on original letters previously submitted to the FBI Laboratory by Denver and Newark, and to furnish reports of the results to Newark and Denver.



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Laboratory Work Sheet

Re:

File #

Lab. #

Examination requested by:

Examination requested:

Date received:

Result of Examination:

Examination by:

Specimens submitted for examination

PHOTOGRAPHED

9-51593-4  
ENCLOSURE

SEP 10 1970

**DOCUMENT (S) CANNOT  
BE SCANNED**

**DESCRIPTION:**

**PHOTO NEGATIVES**

FILE#

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

EXAMINER

9-51893

# LW

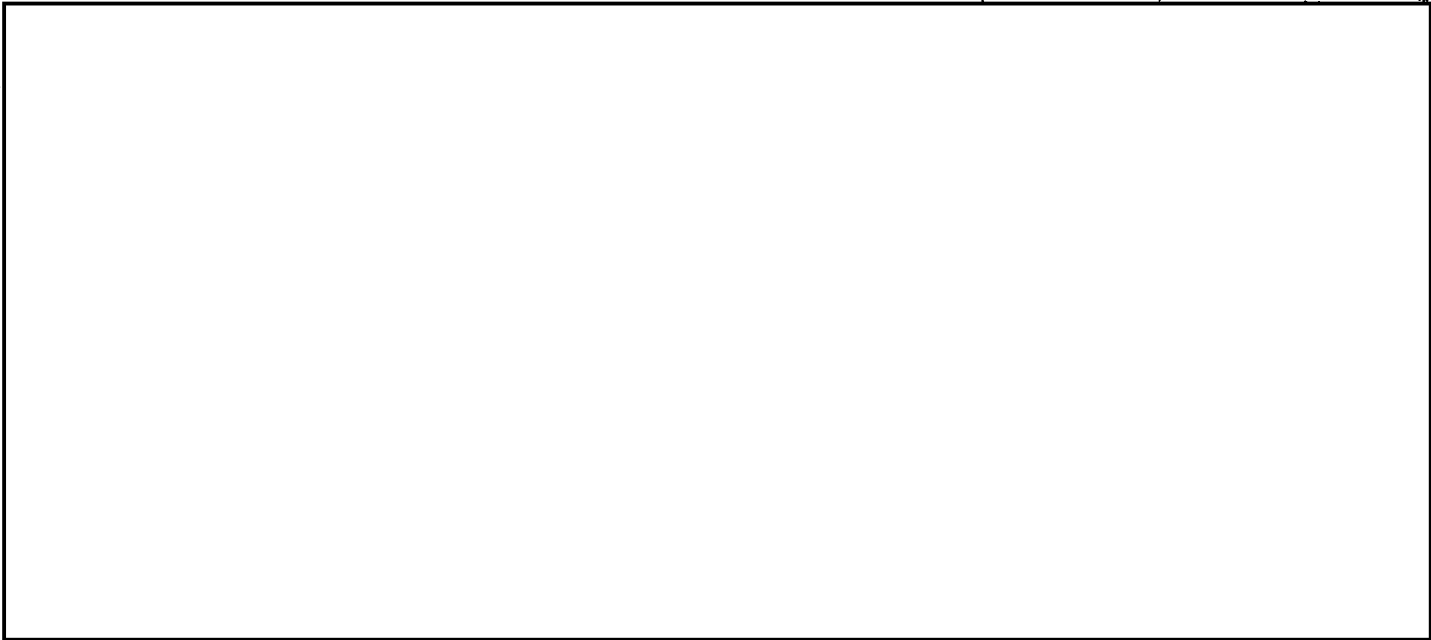
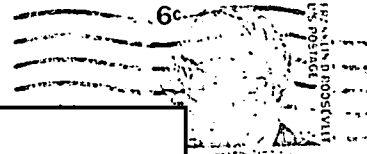
Q# 22

K#

NEGATIVES

INITIALS \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C



EX-03  
C-61-70799 012



Denver Meat Dist. Co.  
28 Alameda Ave.  
Denver, Colo.

9-515-93 Qe 8  
LW

9-51593-4

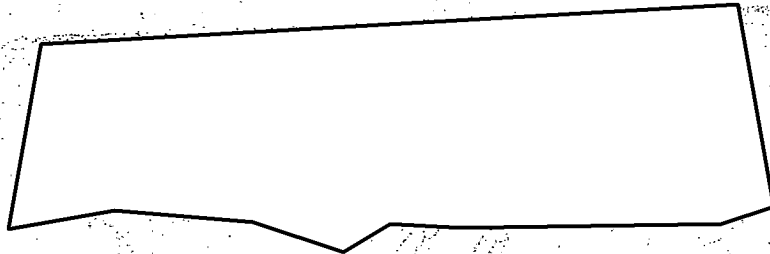
6819 70738 6074 552

9-51593 Qc10  
2W



10 m  
2/ m

CP# 10 188  
EX 4



Denver, Colo.

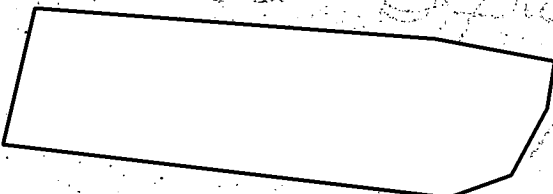
CS# 10798 6004 187

b6

b7C



Staff  
Police Department

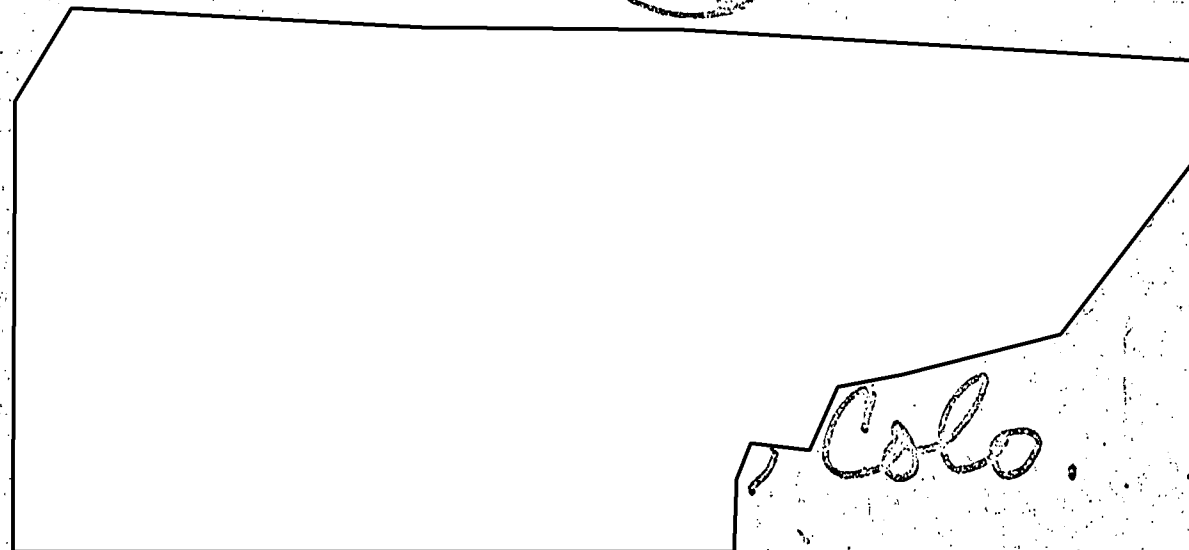
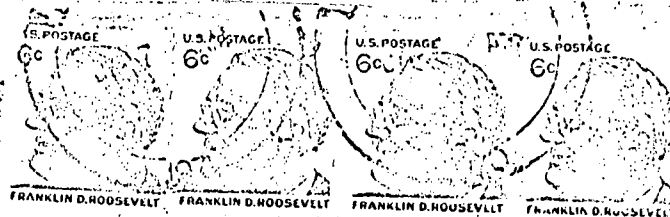
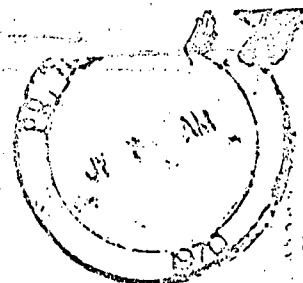


Colorado



Please forward

BB 1-70798 E\*1



Colo.

b6  
b7C

Letter to the Editor:

### Source of Capitalist Profit

Karl Marx defined labour-power as "the aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in a human being, which he exercises whenever he produces a use-value of any description." Labour is the use of these capabilities in the production of usable goods.

The values of commodities are determined by the "socially necessary labour-time" required for their production. And the labour-time socially necessary "is that required to produce an article under normal conditions of production, and with the average degree of skill and intensity prevalent at the time" — that is, it is the time taken by labour equipped with tools and machinery of average technical efficiency and whose productiveness is due to the use of the given stage of the industrial arts.

Now, the value of the labour-power for which the capitalist pays, like the value of any commodity he buys, is measured by the labour-time socially necessary for its production. And is equal to the labour-time required for the production of the subsistence for the labourer and his family.

But the labour-time necessary to produce the means of

The values of commodities are determined by the " socially-necessary labour-time " required for their production. And the labour-time socially necessary " is that required to produce an article under normal conditions of production, and with the average degree of skill and intensity prevalent at the time " — that is, it is the time taken by labour equipped with tools and machinery of average technical efficiency and whose productiveness is due to the use of the given stage of the industrial arts.

Now, the value of the labour-power for which the capitalist pays, like the value of any commodity he buys, is measured by the labour-time socially necessary for its production. And is equal to the labour-time required for the production of the subsistence for the labourer and his family.

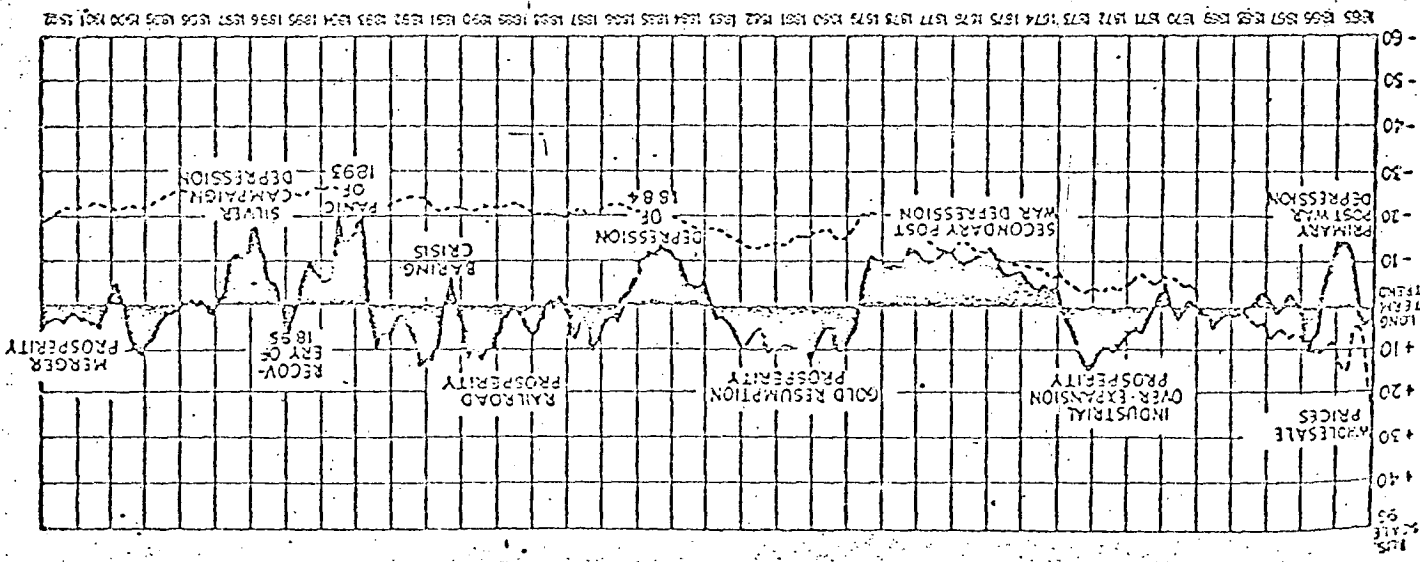
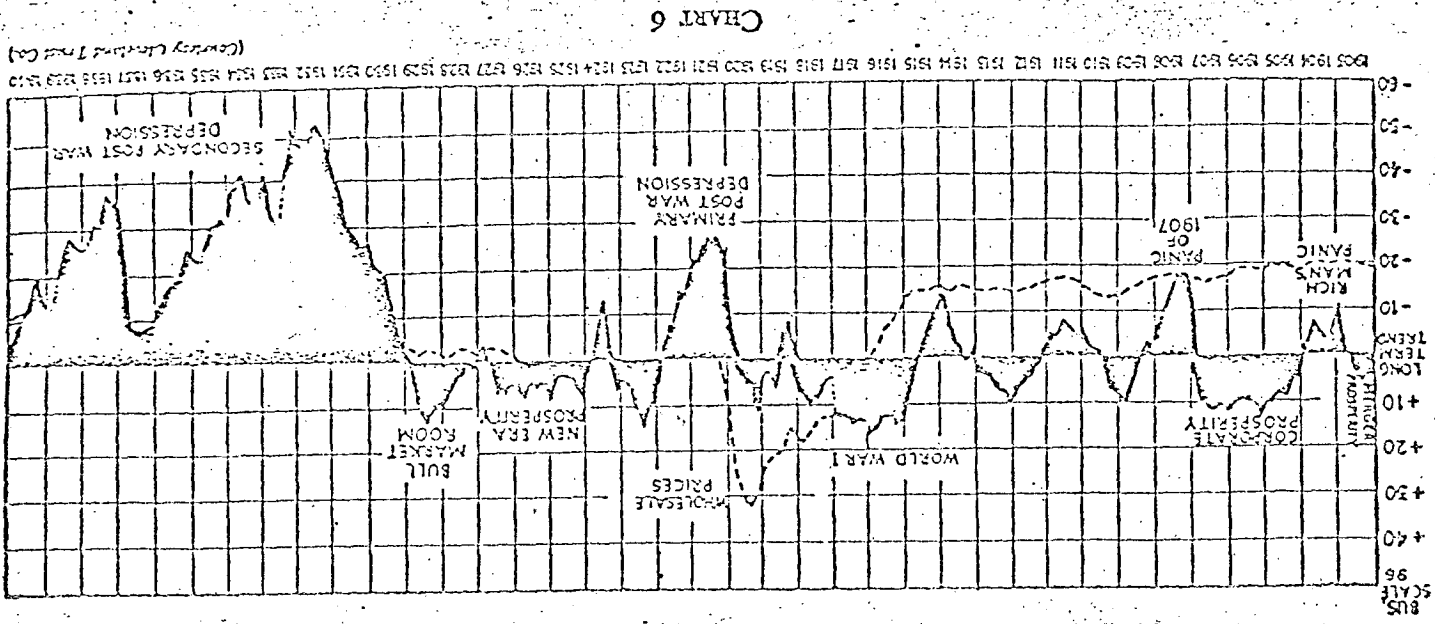
But the labour-time necessary to produce the means of a labourer's subsistence (for a day, say ) is less than the labour-time which the labourer can and does deliver to the capitalist in that time. The result is that in any stated

Qc15

time the labourer produces more value than the equivalent of the wage which the capitalist pays him for the labour-power he uses up.' This difference Marx called "unpaid labour" and "surplus-value." This materialized constitutes the capitalist's profit.'

The value of all the non-labour factors ( the raw materials and supplies, and the plant and equipment used up in production) is included in the total value of the final product. To that extent they add to its value.

b6  
b7C



Letter to the Editor;

### Expropriate Capitalists

The capitalist class is mainly responsible for the economic depressions, racism, and wars of the twentieth-century; and, in addition, their wealth is mainly due to exploitation and inheritance. Therefore, they have neither a moral right to rule over the future destiny of mankind nor to ownership and control of their vast corporate wealth. And consequently, industry should be nationalized, the capitalists' personal possessions divided among the poor, and the political and economic supremacy of the working class established.

Notes: 1. Soviets or popular assemblies (councils of workers', soldiers', and farm workers' deputies) are the instrument for attaining the forementioned ends. 2. In 1952 the average American worker received 3.44 hrs. per 8 hrs. delivered which means his wage would have to be multiplied by 2.33 to abolish exploitation.

b6  
b7c



# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20537

## REPORT

of the

## IDENTIFICATION DIVISION

### LATENT FINGERPRINT SECTION

YOUR FILE NO.

9-51593-  
9-2497

FBI FILE NO.

9-51607

LATENT CASE NO.

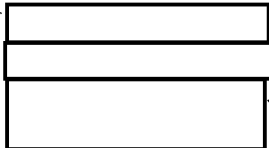
A-26025

September 18, 1970

TO:

SAC, Newark

RE:



AKA

- VICTIM;  
- VICTIM

EXTORTION

b6  
b7C

REFERENCE: Airtels 8-20-70

EXAMINATION REQUESTED BY: Newark

SPECIMENS:

Three mail envelopes, #1, #3 and #5  
Three accompanying envelopes bearing messages,  
#2, #4 and #6

This report supplements Unitel to Newark and  
Denver Divisions 9-14-70.

Listed specimens further described in separate  
Laboratory report.

Specimens examined and one identifiable latent  
fingerprint developed on #1, three identifiable latent  
fingerprints developed on #3, one identifiable latent  
fingerprint developed on #5 and one identifiable latent  
fingerprint developed on #6.

(Continued on next page)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Enc. (6)

2 - Denver (9-1931)

1 - Newark (9-2495)

① - Bufile (9-51593)

RDF:mte

OCT 5 1970

THIS REPORT IS FURNISHED FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

John Edgar Hoover, Director

DUPLICATE YELLOW

ORIGINAL FILED IN  
9-51607

SAC, Newark

September 18, 1970

One latent fingerprint on Q3 and the latent fingerprint on Q6 not identical with fingerprints of [redacted], FBI # [redacted]. For results of comparisons of the other latent fingerprints, see attached page.

In case entitled "George F. Kennan; [redacted] [redacted] - Victim, Extortion," Bufile #9-51593, your file #9-2495, Denver file #9-1931, latent case #A-25671, no latent prints of value were developed as Denver was advised in Latent Fingerprint Section report 9-8-70.

Specimens enclosed.



Your File No. 9-2497  
FBI File No. 9-51607  
Latent Case No. A-26025

September 18, 1970

RE: [REDACTED], FBI # [REDACTED]

Four latent fingerprints developed on three envelopes postmarked 7-5-70 at Trenton, New Jersey and addressed to "[REDACTED], [REDACTED], [REDACTED], Ohio," which have been designated Q1, Q3 and Q5, have been identified as fingerprints of [REDACTED].

b6  
b7C

FBI

Date: 8/20/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
(ATTN: FBI LABORATORY)

FROM: SAC, NEWARK (9-2497)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED], aka  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM;  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM  
EXTORTION  
(OO: NEWARK)

700824074

Re Newark airtel airtel to the Bureau 8/18/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau under obscene cover is the original and one Xerox copy of three letters and three envelopes addressed to [REDACTED] with a return address of [REDACTED], Princeton, New Jersey.

Enclosed for Albany, Charlotte, Cincinnati and Denver under obscene cover is one Xeroxed copy of the above-mentioned three letters and envelopes.

For information of the receiving offices [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], Colorado, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] and [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED], Colorado, received an obscene letter bearing the return address of GEORGE F. KENNAN, 67 Nassau Road, Princeton, New Jersey. This letter contained this statement, "I have placed you on my list of those who are to face a Communist firing squad."

3-Bureau (Enc. 12) (RM)  
2-Albany (Enc. 6)  
2-Charlotte (Enc. 60)  
2-Cincinnati (Enc. 6)  
2-Denver (Enc. 6)  
2-New York  
2-Newark  
BEC/aff  
(15)

EX 106

AUG 28 1970

NOT RECORDED

Sent SEP 29 1970

Per

Special Agent in Charge

GEORGE FROST KENNAN is former Ambassador to the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and is a prominent person in Princeton, New Jersey. He advised that he knows nothing concerning this matter.

A cursory inspection of letter received by [ ] indicates that the handwriting may be identical to that of [ ]. Newark has forwarded to the FBI Laboratory in case involving [ ] known samples of [ ] handwriting.

[ ] re-interviewed on 8/20/70, and denied sending letter to [ ].

[ ], Colorado Bureau of Investigation Agent, Bolder, Colorado, telephonically contacted SA [ ], Trenton RA, on 8/18/70, and advised he has letter from [ ] addressed to [ ], which contains a threat to kill [ ]. He advised in addition that the Sheriff's Office at Breckenridge, Colorado, had received an anonymous telephone call stating that [ ] had murdered [ ] at Breckenridge, Colorado. He states extensive investigation has been conducted as a result of this call and [ ] had been located in [ ], Vt. He further advised that inquiry had been made by the Burlington County Police Department, which developed information that [ ] had seen [ ] in [ ], Vt. [ ] Police Department determined [ ] had spent three nights at the [ ] YMCA.

b6  
b7C

In view of information received by Newark indicating several additional letters have been written by [ ], Newark is requesting all offices expedite all phases of this investigation. The following additional investigation is also being requested:

The Bureau is requested to compare the enclosures with letter in case entitled, "GEORGE F. KENNAN; [ ] VICTIM; EXTORTION", OO: Denver. Will add copies of enclosures to the Anonymous Letter File.

NK 9-2497

The Latent Fingerprint Section of the Identification Division is requested to conduct latent fingerprint examination of these envelopes, noting that they have been handled by several people, and compare any latent fingerprints obtained with the fingerprints of [REDACTED], who has been arrested by the Bolder, Colorado, Police Department. Expedite examination and forward laboratory reports to Newark and interested offices.

LEADS

CHARLOTTE

AT [REDACTED], NORTH CAROLINA: Immediately locate [REDACTED] and interview her in detail concerning her association with [REDACTED] and if any letters received by her still in her possession. If letters obtained, forward to FBI Laboratory immediately with request that handwriting and latent fingerprint examinations be conducted with comparison being made with the handwriting and fingerprints of [REDACTED]. Forward copies to Newark.

b6  
b7C

CINCINNATI

AT [REDACTED], OHIO: Expedite contact with [REDACTED] to determine present address for his daughter, [REDACTED], in Burlington, Vt. and advise Albany.

2. Determine if daughter still has any letters from [REDACTED] and if so, forward to laboratory with same request as set forth for Charlotte. Forward copies of any letters to Newark.

DENVER

AT [REDACTED], COLORADO: Will coordinate with case entitled, "GEORGE F. KENNAN; [REDACTED] VICTIM; EXTORTION," OO: Denver, and expedite investigation. L W.

2. Will obtain letter from [REDACTED], CBI Agent, reportedly sent to [REDACTED], which is in his possession. Forward letters to laboratory with same request as set forth for Charlotte and forward copy of letters to Newark.

NK 9-2497

ALBANY

AT BURLINGTON, VERMONT: Will locate and interview [ ] concerning her association with [ ]. Determine if she has any letters from [ ] in her possession and if so, forward to FBI Laboratory with same request as set forth for Charlotte. Forward copy of any letters to Newark.

b6  
b7C

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK: Will expedite contact with Postal Inspector [ ] and obtain original letters in his possession sent to [ ]. Forward to laboratory with same requests made of Charlotte. Forward copy of letters to Newark.

NEWARK

AT TRENTON, NEW JERSEY: Will keep AUSA apprised of facts of case, in view of additional letters involved.



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535**

**To: FBI, Newark (9-2497)**

**Date: September 10, 1970**

Re:

[Redacted] aka  
[Redacted] - VICTIM;  
[Redacted] - VICTIM;

**EXTORTION  
OO: Newark**

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover, Director

FBI File No. **9-51607**  
Lab. No. **D-700824074 LW**  
**D-700827070 LW**

Examination requested by:

**Newark, New York**

Reference:

**Airtel 8/20/70, 9/24/70**

Examination requested:

**Document - Fingerprint**

Remarks:

**Specimens Q1 through Q6 will be returned to Newark with the results of the latent fingerprint examination.**

**The known handwriting of [Redacted], KI, referred to in the attached report is KI in Newark's file 9-2495, Bureau file 9-51593.**

**Enclosures (2) (2 Lab report)  
2 - New York (9-5514) Enclosures (6) (Q7 through Q10,  
1 - Bufile (9-51593)**

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

GRH:rap (6)

**DUPLICATE YELLOW**

**9-51593**  
**NOT RECORDED**  
**143 SEP 22 1970**

**ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE**

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ORIGINAL FILED IN 9-51593-3  
b6  
b7C

# REPORT of the



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: **FBI, Newark (9-2497)**Date: **September 10, 1970**Re: FBI File No. **9-51607**Lab. No. **D-700824074 LN  
D-700827070 LN**

aka  
 VICTIM;  
 VICTIM;  
**EXTORTION**

Specimens received from **FBI, Newark, 8/24/70**

**Q1 - Q6** Six envelopes, three of which are blue-turquoise-colored and addressed to , Ohio," postmarked "5 JUL 70 TRENTON, NJ" and three of which are chartreuse-colored and bear handwritten message beginning "Dear ..." and ending "..."

Specimens received from **FBI, New York, 8/26/70**

**Q7** Post Card postmarked "NEW YORK, N.Y. C.P.O. AP 19 PM," beginning ", You have been placed on..."

**Q8** Envelope postmarked "P  JY 7AM," bearing handwritten address " Oakland, California"

**Q9** Sheet of paper bearing handwritten message beginning "I wish to murder you but..."

**Q10** Envelope postmarked "PRINCETON, N JUL 17 AM 1970," bearing handwritten address " Oakland, Calif."

### Result of examination:

It was determined that specimens Q1 through Q10 were written by , whose known handwriting is designated K1 is a separate case.

Specimens Q1 through Q6 will be returned separately. Specimens Q7 through Q10 are returned with a copy of this report to New York. Specimens Q1 through Q10 were photographed.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
 Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐b6  
b7c



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535**

To: **FBI, Denver (9-1931)**

Date: **October 1, 1970**

Re: **UNSUB, aka  
George F. Kennan;  
[redacted] - VICTIM;  
EXTORTION  
OO: Denver**

**EX-112**

*John Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover, Director

REC- 122

FBI File No.  
Lab. No.

**9-51503-5  
D-700917074 LW**

Examination requested by: **Denver**

Reference: **Airtel 9/14/70**

Examination requested: **Document**

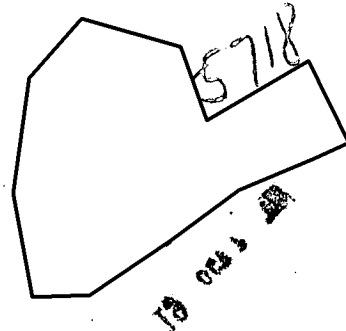
Remarks:

**Limited similarities are noted which may indicate  
Q16 was prepared by [redacted] who has been previously  
identified with submissions in this case.**

**Enclosures (3) (Q16, 2 Lab report)  
2 - Newark (9-2495) (9-2497) Enclosures (2) (2 Lab report)**

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

**MAILED 21  
OCT 2 - 1970  
COMM-FBI**



**ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE**

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐



REPORT  
of the



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: **FBI, Denver (9-1931)**

Re: **UNSUB, aka  
George F. Kennan;  
[redacted] - VICTIM;  
EXTORTION  
OO: Denver**

Date: **October 1, 1970**  
FBI File No. **9-51593**  
Lab. No. **D-700917074 LW**

Specimens received **9/17/70**

b6  
b7C

**Q16 Envelope postmarked "PRINCETON, NJ SEP 5 AM 1970"  
bearing hand printed address "[redacted]  
[redacted], Colorado" bearing needle taped on back**

**Result of examination:**

**As the hand printing on specimen Q16 may not  
represent the normal handwriting habits of the writer, no  
definite conclusion was reached whether Q16 was written by  
the writer of any of the previously submitted specimens in  
this case.**

**Q16 was photographed and is returned herewith.**

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*GRH*  
**GRH:dkm (6)**

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

RECORDED  
9/23/70  
rap

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

NO LAB FILE

Laboratory Work Sheet

Re: UNSUB, aka George F. Kennan;  
[redacted] = VICTIM  
EXTORTION  
OO: Denver

File # 9-51593 - 5  
Lab. # D-700917074 LW

Examination requested by: DENVER (9-1931) A. 9/14/70

Examination requested: Document

Date received: 9/17/70

Result of Examination:

Examination by: [redacted]

*As HQ Q16 may not represent normal HW habits of writer  
No DEP CORRE Q16 / previous*

b6  
b7c

*Photoed not hw*

*T.F. Lim Sims = may have been [redacted]  
who has been prev. id w/ sub's this case.*

Specimens submitted for examination

Q16 Envelope postmarked "PRINCETON, NJ SEP 5 AM 1970"  
bearing hand printed address "[redacted]"

[redacted], Colorado" bearing needle taped on back

*Newark*

*1 9-2495  
1 9-2497*

*Ref report  
9/30/70  
GAH:dkm*

PHOTOGRAPHED

SEP 24 1970

26

b6  
b7C

F B I

Date: 9/14/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (9-51593)  
Attention: FBI Laboratory

FROM: SAC, DENVER (9-1931)(P)

SUBJECT: UNKNOWN SUBJECT, aka  
George F. Kennan;  
[redacted] - VICTIM  
EXTORTION  
OO: Denver[redacted]:  
[redacted] aka  
[redacted] - VICTIM;  
[redacted] - VICTIM  
EXTORTION  
OO: Newark

Re Denver airtel to the Bureau dated 9/2/70.

Enclosed to the Bureau is an original postcard  
with a needle taped to it addressed to [redacted], [redacted]  
[redacted], Colorado, postmarked 9/5/70, at  
Princeton, New Jersey, received by [redacted] on 9/10/70.[redacted], Colorado, furnished to the FBI this letter  
by mail and it was received on 9/12/70.A copy of the above postcard is furnished to  
Newark.

- 3-Bureau (Encl. 1)(RM)
- 2-Newark (Encl. 1)(1- 9-2495)  
(1- 9-2497)
- 4-Denver (2- 9-1931)  
(2- 9-1931)

WJM:skc

(9) ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

SEP 23 1970

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

M Per \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7c

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 9-51607-

DN 9-1931

The FBI Laboratory is requested to compare, if possible, the handwriting on the enclosed postcard with the writing appearing on other correspondence received by [redacted] from Princeton, New Jersey, and letter previously furnished to the FBI Laboratory for examination.

b6  
b7C

Upon completion of examination, results should be furnished to Denver and Newark and the original postcard returned to Denver.

RECORDED  
9/23/70  
rap

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Laboratory Work Sheet

NO LAB FILE

Re: **UNSUB, aka George F. Kennan;**  
[redacted] = VICTIM  
**EXTORTION**  
**OO: Denver**

File # **9-51593 - 5**  
Lab. # **D-700917074 LW**

Examination requested by: **DENVER (9-1931) A. 9/14/70**

Examination requested: **Document**

Date received: **9/17/70**

Result of Examination:

Examination by: [redacted]

b6  
b7C

Specimens submitted for examination

Q16 Envelope postmarked "PRINCETON, NJ SEP 5 AM 1970"  
bearing hand printed address "[redacted]"  
[redacted], Colorado? bearing needle taped on back

ret. 10/7/70  
GSA

PHOTOGRAPHED

SEP 24 1970

DN 9-1931

Bufile: 9-51593

GEORGE F. KENNAN;  
[REDACTED]-VICTIM  
EXTORTION

b6  
b7C

Enclosed is a postcard addressed to [REDACTED] postmarked  
September 5 at Princeton, New Jersey.

REGISTERED MAIL

9-51593-5



1870-1970



WEATHER SERVICES



UNITED STATES

POSTAGE

Colorado

Q16 9-51593 LW



b6  
b7C



Q16 9-51593 LW

666

FILE#

9-51593

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

EXAMINER

# LW

Q#

Q16

K#

NEGATIVES

INITIALS \_\_\_\_\_

9-51593-5

**DOCUMENT (S) CANNOT  
BE SCANNED**

**DESCRIPTION:**

**PHOTO NEGATIVES**



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535**

To: **FBI, Newark (9-2495)**

Date: **September 10, 1970**

Re: **GEORGE F. KENNAN;  
[redacted] - VICTIM;  
EXTORTION  
OO: Denver**

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover, Director

FBI File No. **9-51593**  
Lab. No. **D-700824073 LW**

Examination requested by: **Newark**

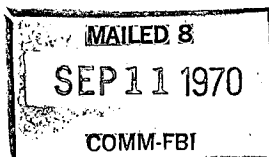
Reference: **Letter 8/20/70**

Examination requested: **Document - Fingerprint**

Remarks:

**You will be separately advised of the results  
of the requested latent fingerprint examination.**

**Enclosures (4) (K1, K2, 2 Lab report)  
2 - Denver (9-1931) Enclosures (2) (2 Lab report)**



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*SP*  
**GRH:s1 (6)**

**REC-10**

**ST-111**

**ENCLOSURE ATTACHED**

**9-51593-6**  
**19 OCT 1 1970**

**70 OCT 8 - 1970**  
**ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE**  
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

# REPORT of the



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: **FBI, Newark (9-2495)**

Re: **GEORGE F. KENNAN;**  
**[REDACTED] - VICTIM;**  
**EXTORTION**

Date: **September 10, 1970**  
 FBI File No. **9-51593**  
 Lab. No. **D-700824073 LW**

Specimens received **8/24/70**

**K1 Application for employment for [REDACTED],**  
**Princeton, N.J. bearing the purported known handwriting**  
**and hand printing of [REDACTED]**

b6  
b7C

**K2 Five greeting cards bearing purported known handwriting**  
**of [REDACTED]**

### Result of examination:

**It was determined that specimens Q1 and Q2 were**  
**written by [REDACTED], K1.**

**K1 and K2 were photographed and are returned herewith.**

*51*  
**GRH:sl (6)**

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
 Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

7-2  
Recorded  
9/1/70 pet

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

**LATENT**  
Laboratory Work Sheet

Re: **GEORGE F. KENNAN;**  
[redacted] - **VICTIM;**  
**EXTORTION**  
**OO: Denver**

File # **9-51593**  
Lab. # **D-700824073 LW**

Examination requested by: **Newark (9-2495) L. 8/20/70**

Examination requested: **Document - Fingerprint**

Date received: **8/20/70**

Result of Examination:

Examination by: [redacted]

*Det Q1 Q2 ident K1  
K1 K2 photoed (ret) h.w.*

*TF advise sep of neg LF et*

*K2 5 greeting cards bearing purported known handwriting*  
of [redacted]

Specimens submitted for examination

03 **Greeting card bearing handwritten message on inside portion and also containing caption printed in lower left inside corner "DREAMS AND PROJECTS"**

04 **Greeting card from "Princeton Printmaker's Collection" bearing two hearts drawn at top of inside portion and ending "exquisite lips"**

05 **Greeting card from "Princeton Printmaker's Collection" bearing two hearts drawn at top of inside portion and signed "[redacted]" with peace symbol drawn beneath**

06 **Greeting card designed from a woodcut by Ann Gross bearing two hearts drawn on top inside portion and ending "exquisite lips"**

07 **Greeting card bearing peace symbol drawn on top inside portion and ending "[redacted]" with two hearts drawn beneath**

K1 **Application for employment for [redacted], Princeton, N.J. bearing the purported known handwriting and handprinting of [redacted]**

2 - Denver (9-1931)

PHOTOGRAPHED

*Lab Report  
DR H: SP  
9/10/70*

Q-3

Q-4

Q-5

Q-6

Q-7

b6  
b7c

Q1 Q2

Punctuation  
→ M J

used And I Soft

K1 M J M K C W S  
↑ ↑

## UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : ☐ LMW 9-1 54pm

DATE: 8-28-70

FROM : ☐ *Jacks* ☒ ☐☒ LATENT EXAMINATION INVOLVED

Communication: L 8-20-70

Agency Submitting: FBI, Newark

SUBJECT: GEORGE KENNAN, Vict.  
Extortion☐ BOTH CIVIL & CRIMINAL FILES☒ SEND OVER ALL CARDSSEND OVER

Please search the name of the individual through the records of the Identification Division and return this memorandum with a notation of your findings to -

☐ Employees Security and Special Inquiry Section, Room \_\_\_\_\_, Justice Building. (In SGE and UN cases, if a record of arrest is found, please enclose, in addition to file copy, 1 copy of the Identification Record for each state in which arrests occurred.)☐ Laboratory, Att.: \_\_\_\_\_, Ext. \_\_\_\_\_, re D # 700824073b6  
b7C

The following identifying data are listed for your assistance (Att.: Special Investigative Division only - in addition to the name or names and the Government agency appearing in the title):

Sex <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female	Race <input type="checkbox"/>	Height <input type="checkbox"/>	Name and aliases (For use of Laboratory) (1) <input type="checkbox"/> (2) <input type="checkbox"/> (3) <input type="checkbox"/>
Date and place of birth	Age	DOB: <input type="checkbox"/>	
Military Service #	CSC #	Arrested Boulder, Colo PD	
Last known address <input type="checkbox"/> Princeton NJ		909-805-E	
Previous Government employment			
Date SGE security form received			
Other pertinent identifying data (Att.: Lab., including PD #s and location)			

## Identification Division Reply

- ☐ Based upon information furnished, no record located.
- ☐ A noncriminal fingerprint record which IS or MAY BE identical was located. This record was searched through the criminal files and no criminal record found.
- ☐ The enclosed Identification Record IS or MAY BE identical with the record of the employee, applicant, or subject.



Recorded  
9/1/70 pet

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

**LATENT**  
Laboratory Work Sheet

Re: **GEORGE F. KENNAN;**  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM;  
**EXTORTION**  
**OO: Denver**

File # **9-51593**  
Lab. # **D-700824073 LW**

Examination requested by: **Newark (9-2495) L. 8/20/70**

Examination requested: **Document - Fingerprint**

Date received: **8/24/70**

Result of Examination:

Examination by: [REDACTED]

Specimens submitted for examination

b6  
b7C

- Q3 Greeting card bearing handwritten message on inside portion and also containing caption printed in lower left inside corner "DREAMS AND PROJECTS"
- Q4 Greeting card from "Princeton Printmaker's Collection" bearing two hearts drawn at top of inside portion and ending "exquisite lips"
- Q5 Greeting card from "Princeton Printmaker's Collection" bearing two hearts drawn at top of inside portion and signed "[REDACTED]" with peace symbol drawn beneath
- Q6 Greeting card designed from a woodcut by Ann Gross bearing two hearts drawn on top inside portion and ending "exquisite lips"
- Q7 Greeting card bearing peace symbol drawn on top inside portion and ending "[REDACTED]" with two hearts drawn beneath
- K1 Application for employment for [REDACTED], Princeton, N.J. bearing the purported known handwriting and hand printing of [REDACTED]

**DOCUMENT (S) CANNOT  
BE SCANNED**

**DESCRIPTION:**

**PHOTO NEGATIVES**

FILE#

9-51593

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

EXAMINER

# LW

Q#

~~A37~~

K#

K-102

NEGATIVES

INITIALS \_\_\_\_\_

9-51593-6

9-51593-6



9-51593-6

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (ATTN: FBI LAB)

DATE: 8/20/70

FROM: SAC, NEWARK (9-2495) (P)

SUBJECT: GEORGE F. KENNAN;  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM  
EXTORTION  
(OO: DENVER)

DESCRIPTION: Original and one xerox copy of an application for employment at [REDACTED], prepared by [REDACTED] and envelope containing obscene letters containing handwriting of [REDACTED].

ENCLOSURES (12)

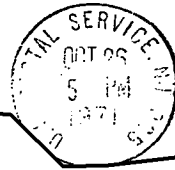
REGISTERED MAIL

This enclosure not to be opened  
without supervisor's permission.

This enclosure not to be opened  
without supervisor's permission.

*OBSCENE*

9-51593-6  
ENCLOSURE



U.S. 8c  
*Emily Dickinson*  
American Poet

b6  
b7C

*Colorado*

9-51593 Q19 LW



b6  
b7C

9-51593 Q19 LW





ALWAYS USE  
ZIP CODE

[Redacted Address Block]  
Colorado.

b6  
b7C

9-51593 Q17 LW  
FBI

b6  
b7C

N. J.

9-51593

Q17

LM

RRP

# SPECIAL TO RECORDS BRANCH

Place on Record and Return Special to Room

7616

This is a Current Case

	RECEIVED		FORWARDED	
	Date	Time	Date	Time
Laboratory			9/14	
Routing			9-14	11
Classifying			9-14	3-
Main Card Searching				
Main Card Typing				
Numbering			9-14	3:42
Recording				
Examining			9-15	9:10

b6  
b7C

Returned to Laboratory

Hold For  
700 9170 74

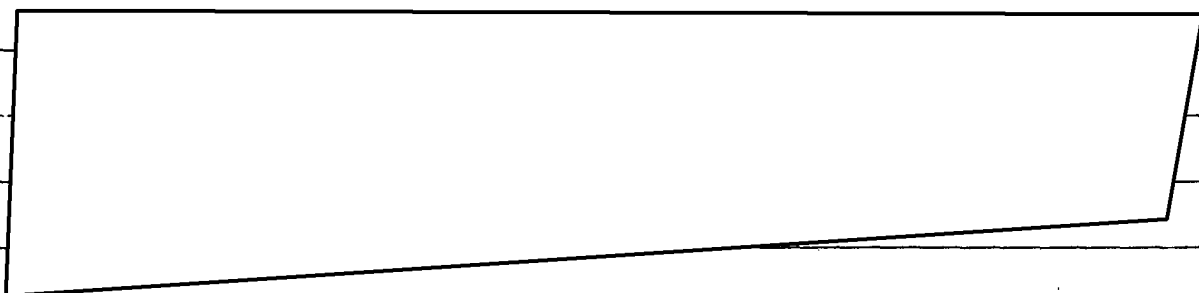
9-51593-6

© CAROLINGIAN PRESS  
Princeton, New Jersey

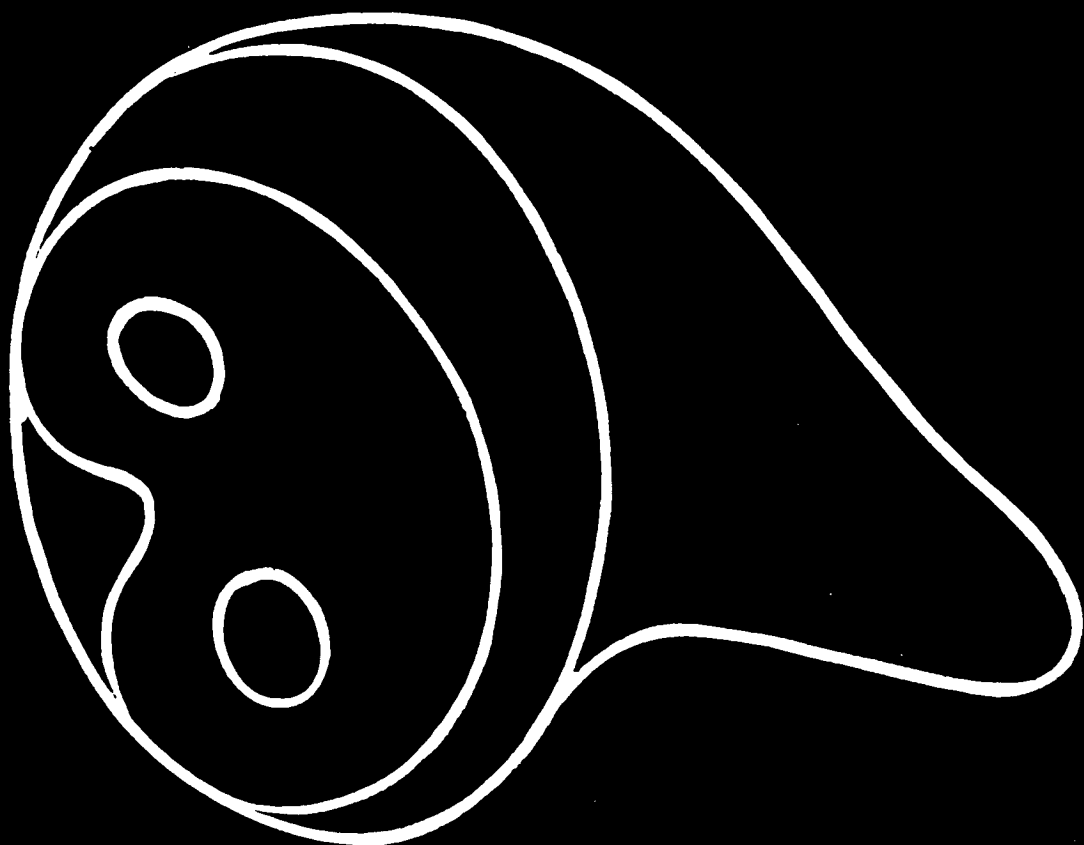
*Princeton Printmaker's Collection*



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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535



9-51593

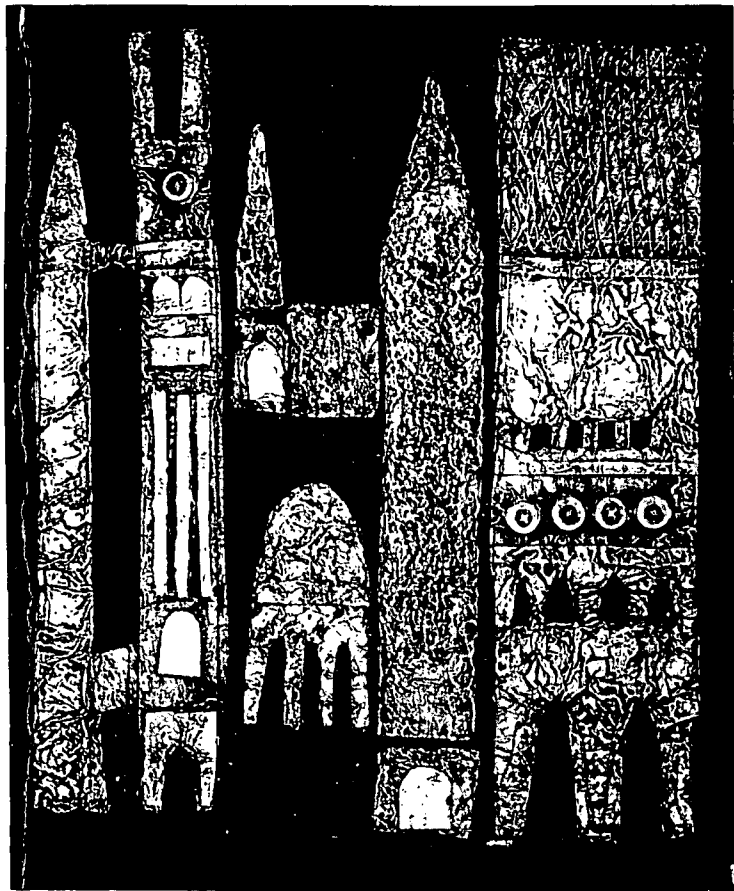
LW



*Princeton Printmaker's Collection*

Collograph by Margaret Kennard Johnson

© CAROLINGIAN PRESS  
*Princeton, New Jersey*



*Princeton Printmaker's Collection*

Woodcut by Ann Gross

© CAROLINGIAN PRESS  
*Princeton, New Jersey*



9-51593  
LW

**DOCUMENT (S) CANNOT  
BE SCANNED**

**DESCRIPTION:**

**PHOTO NEGATIVES**

FILE#

9-51593

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

EXAMINER

# LW

Q#

K#

NEGATIVES

INITIALS \_\_\_\_\_

FILE#

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

EXAMINER  
#

9-5159 3-4

Q#

K#

Qc 8- Qc 15

D700904059  
NEGATIVES

INITIALS \_\_\_\_\_

Lu

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE DENVER	OFFICE OF ORIGIN DENVER	DATE 10/8/70	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 8/14 - 9/23/70
TITLE OF CASE  "CHANGED" [redacted], aka., George F. Kennan; [redacted] - VICTIM		REPORT MADE BY [redacted]	TYPED BY lld
		CHARACTER OF CASE  EXTORTION	

b6  
b7c

Title is being marked changed to reflect the true name of subject as [redacted]

REFERENCES: Denver airtel to the Bureau, dated 8/15/70.  
Newark airtel to the Bureau, dated 8/20/70.  
Newark letter to Denver, dated 8/31/70.  
Denver airtel to the Bureau, dated 9/2/70.  
Bureau letter to Denver, dated 9/2/70.  
Bureau letter to Denver, dated 9/8/70.  
Bureau letter to Newark, dated 9/10/70.  
Denver airtel to the Bureau, dated 9/14/70.  
Bureau letter to Denver, dated 9/23/70.

- P -

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO		
APPROVED [Signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE						DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW		
COPIES MADE:						9-51593-17		
1 - Bureau (9-51593)						REC-2		
1 - USA, DENVER						EX-103		
3 - Newark (9-2495)								
(1 - USA, TRENTON, NEW JERSEY)						OCT 12 1970		
2 - Denver (9-1931)								
Dissemination Record of Attached Report						Notations		
Agency						STAT. SECT.		
Request Recd.								
Date Fwd.								
How Fwd.								
By								

66 OCT 16 1970

COVER PAGE

DN 9-1931

LEADS:

NEWARK DIVISION

At Trenton, New Jersey:

Discuss with U. S. Attorney for prosecutive opinion since letter to victim was postmarked at Trenton, New Jersey. (Xerox copy of original letter previously furnished to Newark)

DENVER DIVISION

At Denver, Colorado:

Maintain contact with [ ] or his security agent [ ] to determine whether additional letters are received.

b6  
b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE:

On August 20, 1970, Newark reported that GEORGE FROST KENNAN of 146 Hodge Road, Princeton, New Jersey, is a permanent professor at the Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, and is well acquainted with Agents of the Trenton Resident Agency; that Mr. KENNAN served as a member of the Diplomatic Corps of the U. S. State Department for 30 years prior to his retirement, during which time he served as Ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1950 at the request of former President HARRY S. TRUMAN and served as Ambassador to Yugoslavia at the request of former President JOHN F. KENNEDY. He is personally acquainted with Assistant to the Director SULLIVAN.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - USA, DENVER  
1 - USA, TRENTON, NEW JERSEY

Report of: [REDACTED]  
Date: October 8, 1970

Office: DENVER

Field Office File #: 9-1931

Bureau File #: 9-51593

Title: [REDACTED];  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM

Character: EXTORTION

## Synopsis:

On 8/10/70, [REDACTED], [REDACTED],  
[REDACTED], Colorado, received in the mail addressed to  
him at [REDACTED], Colorado, a handwritten letter post-  
marked at Trenton, New Jersey, 8/9/70, containing  
scurrilous and obscene references to [REDACTED], his wife,  
and [REDACTED], "erroneously referred to as [REDACTED]  
daughter. Last paragraph of letter stated, "I've  
placed you on my list of those who are to face a  
Communist firing squad." Envelope reflected  
return address of GEORGE F. KENNAN, Princeton, New  
Jersey, and the letter was signed "Red Hitler."  
FBI Laboratory identified handwriting in letter as  
that of [REDACTED], Boulder, Colorado, PD [REDACTED]  
born [REDACTED], Jersey City, New Jersey. USA, Denver,  
suggests this matter be presented to USA, Trenton,  
New Jersey.

b6  
b7C

- P -

DETAILS:

On August 14, 1970, [REDACTED],  
[REDACTED], Colorado,  
turned over to ASAC JOHN F. MORLEY of the Denver Office,  
FBI, a letter and envelope addressed to [REDACTED],  
[REDACTED], Colorado. The letter was  
postmarked at Trenton, New Jersey, August 9, 1970, and



DN 9-1931

the envelope was stamped with a six cent Franklin D. Roosevelt U. S. postage stamp. On the back of the envelope appeared the return address, "GEORGE F. KENNAN, 67 Nassau Road, Princeton, New Jersey, 08540." The address and the return address on the envelope are handwritten in what appeared to be blue ink or blue ball-point pen.

The letter, dated August 8, 1970, was handwritten on a blue lined, yellow sheet of 8 1/2" by 11" paper with a line of small round perforations on the left edge, indicating that it might have been torn from a spiral notebook. The blue writing in the letter appeared to have been made by the same type instrument used in addressing the envelope.

The first two paragraphs of the letter appear to be highly scurrilous and obscene, referring to [redacted], his wife, and "[redacted]," who is described in the letter as [redacted] daughter.

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The last paragraph states, "I've placed you on my list of those who are to face a Communist firing squad."

The letter is signed "Red Hitler." In the lower left-hand corner appears a crude drawing of a skull and in the lower right-hand corner is a drawing of a swastika emblem.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 25, 1970

(1)

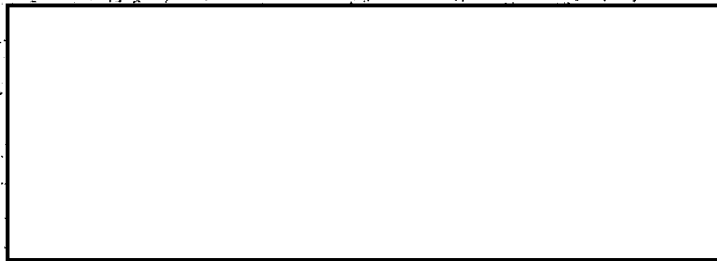
[redacted], born [redacted], stated that he is [redacted] and [redacted] Colorado. He stated he is active in [redacted] and is a member of the [redacted] [redacted], Colorado. He is the [redacted] of the late [redacted] murdered in [redacted], by [redacted], in an abortive attempt to extort a large sum of money from [redacted]. [redacted] was subsequently convicted of the murder in [redacted] County District Court, [redacted], Colorado, and sentenced to life imprisonment in the Colorado State Penitentiary, Canon City, Colorado.

[redacted] related that he resides at [redacted] [redacted], Colorado, with his wife [redacted]. They have two telephones at their residence, the numbers of which are [redacted] and [redacted], both of which are listed under his name in the Denver area telephone directory.

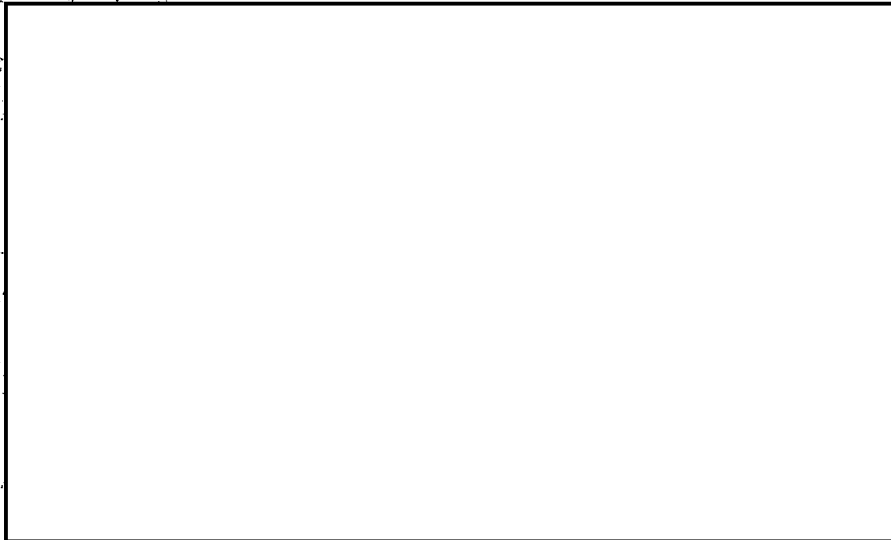
b6  
b7C

His brother, [redacted], [redacted] [redacted], resides on [redacted] near [redacted], Colorado, and has listed telephone number [redacted].

[redacted] stated he has [redacted], identified as follows:

On 8/14/70 at [redacted], ColoradoFile # Denver 9-1931by SA [redacted] /lldDate dictated 8/19/70

DN 9-1931  
(2)



His son [redacted] is presently residing at the family residence where he will remain until [redacted].

b6  
b7C

[redacted] stated that [redacted], who resides [redacted] in [redacted] County, Colorado, is regularly employed as [redacted].

[redacted] stated that he regularly drives a [redacted], four-door sedan, 1970 Colorado License [redacted]. His wife drives a late model [redacted], 1970 Colorado License [redacted].

[redacted] drives the only other automobile maintained at the [redacted] residence, and this is a [redacted], license number unknown.

[redacted] identified a Xerox copy of a letter addressed to him at [redacted], Colorado, in an envelope postmarked at Trenton, New Jersey, on August 9, 1970. The envelope bears the return address "Mr. GEORGE F. KENNAN, 67 Nassau Road, Princeton, New Jersey, 08540," and the letter, which is dated August 8, 1970, is signed "RED HITLER."

DN 9-1931

(3)

He stated that he personally opened this letter when it was received at his residence on the afternoon of August 10, 1970. He stated that after reading the letter, he immediately showed it to his brother, [REDACTED], and that he and his brother are the only members of the family who handled the letter after it was received at [REDACTED] residence. He stated that he purposely did not call the matter to the attention of his wife or show the letter to her or to any other member of the family since he did not desire to unduly alarm them.

He stated that neither he nor his brother have any idea as to the identity of GEORGE F. KENNAN and they have no family connections in Trenton or Princeton, New Jersey, that might prompt any such letter from that area. He stated that he and his brother first considered ignoring the letter completely but after discussing it with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], he accepted [REDACTED] suggestion on August 14, 1970, that the letter should be immediately turned over to the FBI.

[REDACTED] related that the "[REDACTED]" referred to in the letter is not his daughter, but might be identical with his niece, [REDACTED],

[REDACTED], who is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] He stated that she resides at [REDACTED], Ohio, and is known to her friends as "[REDACTED]". For the past two years she has been the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] related that nothing unusual has happened recently that might have any bearing on this letter; that no similar letters or anonymous letters of any kind have been received at his residence or by any members of his family to the best of his knowledge; and that no anonymous telephone calls or threatening or harassing calls of any kind have been received by him or his family at his residence or at his office.

b6  
b7C

DN 9-1931  
(4)

[redacted] stated that to the best of his knowledge, since the letter was received at his home he and his brother [redacted] and [redacted] are the only persons who have handled the letter or the envelope in which it was enclosed.

b6  
b7C

DN 9-1931

On August 14, 1970, this matter was discussed with Assistant U. S. Attorney JAMES R. RICHARDS, District of Colorado, who stated that although he believed the threat against [ ] contained in the letter is "marginal" under the Federal Extortion Statute, he desires to withhold a prosecutive opinion until sufficient inquiry has been made to identify the writer of the letter and determine the motive for writing it.

b6  
b7C

On August 15, 1970, the letter and envelope in question were forwarded to the FBI Laboratory with the request that it be searched through the Anonymous Letter Files for identification purposes and examined as to type and origin of paper, for writing instruments, and latent fingerprints, and any other information that might be developed that would of assistance in identifying the writer.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 31, 1970

1

Mr. GEORGE FROST KENNAN was located at the Institute for Advanced Study, where he is employed as a prominent professor. Mr. KENNAN was advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and was advised that an inquiry was being made into a letter mailed to [redacted] of [redacted] Colorado, which letter listed the return address as "GEORGE E. KENNAN, 67 Nassau Road, Princeton, New Jersey."

Mr. KENNAN advised that he had no knowledge of this letter, certainly did not write this letter, and does not know who the writer of the letter is. He further stated that he does not know [redacted].

Mr. KENNAN stated as general background information concerning himself that he retired from the United States State Department after approximately 30 years of service. He became associated with the Institute for Advanced Study in the early 1950's and in 1950 became Ambassador to the Soviet Union at the request of former president HARRY S. TRUMAN. He stated that he also served as Ambassador to Yugoslavia at the request of former president JOHN F. KENNEDY.

Mr. KENNAN noting the postmark on the letter which was sent to [redacted], as being August 9, 1970, stated that he and his wife returned from Europe on that date and did not return to their home in Princeton, New Jersey, until very late that night.

Mr. KENNAN stated that he is not acquainted with anyone named [redacted]

Mr. KENNAN stated that he resides at 146 Hodge Road, Princeton, New Jersey.

On 8/19/70 at Princeton, N.J. File # Newark 9-2495

by SA [redacted] & SA [redacted] BEC:mcv Date dictated 8/25/70

DN 9-1931

On August 20, 1970, the Newark Division reported that investigation previously conducted in connection with another case in the Princeton-Trenton, New Jersey, area suggested the possibility that the writer of the letter to [redacted] might be [redacted] of [redacted], New Jersey, who was born [redacted], at Jersey City, New Jersey; that [redacted] had been previously interviewed concerning letters similar in appearance and content to the [redacted] letter; that [redacted] had been interviewed and had admitted writing several such letters to other persons but had denied writing the letter to [redacted], admitting, however, that he had known [redacted] as a [redacted] [redacted], Colorado, when [redacted] was a student there prior to [redacted].

Newark also reported that [redacted] had been employed as a [redacted] at [redacted], New Jersey, since [redacted], and had been discharged from that position on [redacted], for falsification of his application for employment after the hospital learned that [redacted] had previously been arrested in Boulder, Colorado.

b6  
b7C

On August 20, 1970, [redacted] stated that he intended to remain in the [redacted], New Jersey, area and acknowledged being under psychiatric care during the period from age 16 to age 21 and being hospitalized on two occasions for mental disorders.

Known samples of [redacted] handwriting were obtained by Newark and forwarded to the FBI Laboratory for appropriate examination and comparison.



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 31, 1970

[redacted] was advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview. He was advised of his rights as set forth in a form entitled, "Interrogation; Advice of Rights" and he declined to sign this form.

[redacted] was shown a copy of a letter which was mailed to [redacted], [redacted], Colorado, and which bore the return address of "GEORGE E. KENNAN, 67 Nassau Road, Princeton, New Jersey." He advised that he had never seen the original of this letter and denied writing the letter. He admitted knowing [redacted] as [redacted].

He volunteered that he had visited [redacted] and her boyfriend, [redacted] in their home in Vermont in November 1967. He stated that he stayed for one week with them and then moved to the YMCA where he spent a few days.

He declined further interview.

The following description was obtained through interview and observation:

Name  
Race  
Sex  
Date of Birth  
Place of Birth  
Height  
Weight  
Hair  
Eyes  
Address  
  
Father  
  
Mother

On 8/20/70 at [redacted] N.J. File # Newark 9-2495  
by SA [redacted] & SA [redacted] BEC:mcv Date dictated 8/25/70

2

NK 9-2495

Education

Prior Arrests

Abnormalities

b6  
b7C

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 31, 1970

[redacted] [redacted] advised that she rents a basement room to [redacted]. She stated that [redacted] had appeared to her to be absent-minded, at times, and on three occasions had left the burner of the stove on and had destroyed three utensils.

[redacted] made available five sheets of paper containing handwriting. She stated that she had retrieved these five sheets of paper from garbage which had been disposed of by [redacted]. [redacted] stated that she did not desire that these sheets of paper be returned to her.

She stated that [redacted] had told her that he had written several letters to some girls in Colorado, but added that he did not want to go into details concerning the matter with her.

On 8/19/70 at [redacted], N.J. File # Newark 9-2495  
by SA [redacted] & SA [redacted] BEC:mcv Date dictated 8/25/70

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date August 31, 1970

[redacted] made available an application for employment for [redacted].

He advised that [redacted] had been employed as a [redacted] at [redacted] from May 1970 until August 1970, when he was discharged when it had been determined that he had falsified his application. He stated that [redacted] had listed on his application that he had never been arrested and it had been determined that he had been arrested previously in [redacted], Colorado.

[redacted] requested that this application for employment be returned to him after it had served its purpose in this investigation.

b6  
b7C

On 8/19/70 at [redacted], N.J. File # Newark 9-2495  
by SA [redacted] & SA [redacted] BEC:mcv Date dictated 8/25/70

DN 9-1931

Enclosed with this handwritten letter was a typed letter addressed "Letter to the editor," signed [redacted].

By communication dated September 2, 1970, the FBI Laboratory advised as follows:

- Q1 Envelope postmarked "Trenton, New Jersey, 8/9/70 p.m." addressed to "[redacted], Colorado"
- Q2 Sheet of paper bearing handwritten letter beginning "God does not..." and ending "Signed Red Hitler"

Result of examination:

Specimens Q1 and Q2 were not identified with material contained in the Anonymous Letter File.

No watermarks, indented writing or other indicates of source are noted. The writing on specimens Q1 and Q2 was done with blue and black ball-point pens.

On September 8, 1970, the FBI Identification Division, Latent Fingerprint Section, reported that no latent prints of value were developed on specimens Q1 and Q2.

By communication dated September 10, 1970, the FBI Laboratory, advised as follows:

- K1 Application for employment for [redacted], [redacted], N. J. bearing the purported known handwriting and hand printing of [redacted]
- K2 Five greeting cards bearing purported known handwriting of [redacted]

Result of examination:

It was determined that specimens Q1 and Q2 were written by [redacted], K1.

DN 9-1931

On September 12, 1970, [redacted]  
[redacted], Colorado,  
turned over to SA [redacted] at Denver, Colorado,  
an original postcard with a sewing needle taped to the back.  
The card contained no message but was postmarked at  
Princeton, New Jersey, September 5, 1970, and bore the  
hand printed address "[redacted]  
[redacted], Colorado."

[redacted] stated that this postcard had been  
turned over to him on September 12, 1970, by [redacted]  
[redacted], and that it may or may not have some connection  
with the previous letter received by [redacted] postmarked  
at Trenton, New Jersey.

b6  
b7C

On September 14, 1970, this postcard was  
forwarded to the FBI Laboratory for appropriate examination.

On September 23, 1970, SA [redacted] discussed  
this matter with Assistant U. S. Attorney JAMES R. RICHARDS,  
District of Colorado, who suggested that since a defendant  
has a right under Title 18, U. S. Code, Section 875-77  
to be tried in the district where extortionate communications  
are first mailed, he would suggest that this matter be  
presented for a prosecutive opinion to the U. S. Attorney  
covering Trenton, New Jersey, where the letter to [redacted]  
[redacted] was postmarked on August 9, 1970.

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>DENVER</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>DENVER</b>	DATE <b>11/23/70</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>10/15 - 11/4/70</b>
TITLE OF CASE  [redacted], aka; [redacted] - VICTIM		REPORT MADE BY [redacted]	TYPED BY mf
		CHARACTER OF CASE  EXTORTION	

REFERENCES: Report of SA [redacted] dated 10/8/70 at Denver  
Newark letter to Denver dated 10/12/70  
Newark airtel to Denver dated 10/15/70

- C -

LEAD:

NEWARK (INFORMATION)

One copy being designated for Newark since jurisdiction for prosecution was in that district, and one copy designated for the USA at Trenton, New Jersey, since the matter was presented to him for prosecutive opinion.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:		
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES					
								PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO		
APPROVED  COPIES MADE:						SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE			DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
1 - Bureau (9-51593) 1 - USA, Denver 2 - Newark (9-2495) (Info) (1 - USA, Trenton, N. J.) 1 - Denver (9-1931)						9-51593-8  11 NOV 25 1970			REC-72	
									EX-10	
Dissemination Record of Attached Report						Notations				
Agency						SIX STATE SECT.				
Request Recd.										
Date Fwd.										
How Fwd.										
By										

57 DEC 2 1970

- A\* -  
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - USA, Denver, Colorado  
1 - USA, Trenton, New Jersey

Report of: [REDACTED]  
Date: November 23, 1970

Office: Denver, Colorado

Field Office File #: 9-1931

Bureau File #: 9-51593

Title: [REDACTED];  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM

Character: EXTORTION

Synopsis:

AUSA, Trenton, N.J., declined prosecution. As of 11/4/70, victim had received no additional letters from [REDACTED].

b6  
b7C

- C -

Details:

On October 15, 1970, the Newark Division reported that on that date this matter had been discussed with Assistant U. S. Attorney ROGER S. STEFFENS, Trenton, New Jersey, who stated that he was of the opinion the letter [REDACTED] mailed to [REDACTED] contained no threat coming within the purview of the extortion statute and for that reason he would decline prosecution.

On November 4, 1970, [REDACTED], Colorado, informed SA [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] had received no additional communications from [REDACTED] and that in the event such communications were received, the same would be made available to the Denver Division immediately.



# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20537



## REPORT

of the

## IDENTIFICATION DIVISION

LATENT FINGERPRINT SECTION

YOUR FILE NO.

9-1931

December 14, 1971

FBI FILE NO.

9-51593-9

LATENT CASE NO.

A-25671

REC-129

TO:

SAC, Denver

EX-117

RE:

[Redacted], AKA;  
[Redacted] - VICTIM;  
EXTORTION

REFERENCE:

Airtel 11-16-71

EXAMINATION REQUESTED BY:

Denver

SPECIMENS:

Q17 and Q19, two envelopes

Q18 and Q20, two one-page letters

Listed Q specimens described in separate Laboratory report.

Specimens examined and two latent fingerprints of value developed on Q19.

Latent fingerprints not identical fingerprints [Redacted], FBI # [Redacted].

Specimens enclosed.

Enc. (4)

1 - Newark (9-2495)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Hes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

John Edgar Hoover, Director

THIS REPORT IS FURNISHED FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b6  
b7c

RECORDED  
12/8/71  
ljp

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Laboratory Work Sheet

Recorded 12/8/71

8:50 a.m. je

NO. 1 LAB FILE 71  
Received 12/8/71

Re: [redacted] aka  
[redacted] - VICTIM;  
EXTORTION  
00: Denver

LATENT

File # 9-51593-9  
Lab. # D-711122023 LW  
LC#A-25671

Examination requested by: Denver (9-1931) Letter 11/16/71

Examination requested: Document - Fingerprint

Date received: 11/19/71

Result of Examination:

Named Subject:

Examination by:

FBI# [redacted]

Noted by: [redacted]

12-8-71-NEC

specs from (1-NIN)  
Q19 & photo (NIN)  
called Bufile

let fpts prev rep  
prev long fpts  
(over)

b6  
b7CSpecimens submitted for examination

- Q17 Envelope postmarked "U. S. POSTAL SERVICE . NJ035. NOV 10 PM 1971." bearing handwritten address "[redacted], Colorado."
- Q18 One page handwritten letter beginning Dear [redacted], One good kick....," signed [redacted]."
- Q19 Envelope postmarked "U. . . TAL SERVICE, NJ 5, OCT 2 5 PM 1971" bearing handwritten address "[redacted], Colorado."
- Q20 One page handwritten letter beginning "Dear Sir, I enjoyed dancing.....,"

cc NK 9-2495

Examination completed 9 45  
Time

12/10/71  
Date

Dictated 12/10/71  
Date

overd.  
12-14-71  
MES-jab

-12-10-71-168

pers proc (su) - no add ltr

2. lat pgts of val den p 19 -

lat pgts not & pgts



pers enl

Lat reg sep

End of 1

b6  
b7C

F B I

Date: 11/16/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (9-51593)  
ATTENTION: FBI LABORATORY

FROM : SAC, DENVER (9-1931)(P)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED], aka.;  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM  
EXTORTION  
OO: DENVER

711122023

Enclosed under obscene cover attention FBI Laboratory is the original and one Xerox copy each of the following items:

(1) Handwritten letter which is undated and begins "Dear [REDACTED]" and ends with the signature "[REDACTED]." The letter is written in what appears to be a blue ball-point pen and contains veiled threats and obscenities, and is written on yellow tablet paper approximately 7 3/4" by 12 1/2" lined in blue horizontal lines with a triple red and blue vertical line on the left margin;

(2) A white envelope approximately 9 1/2" by 4 1/4", bearing the postmark "11/10/71, U. S. Postal Service, N. J. 085." The front of the envelope is addressed to "[REDACTED], Colorado" and the back of the envelope bears the return address "[REDACTED] N. J." All writing on the envelope appears to have been made with a blue ball-point pen and the envelope bears an 8¢ U. S. postage stamp;

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 8)(RM)  
2 - Newark (9-2495)(Enc. 4)(RM)  
1 - Denver  
PEB/lld  
(6)

REC 31

NOV 19 1971

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

L. F. P.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

"COPY AND SPECIMENS REMAINED IN LAB"

INDEX AND FILES

b6  
b7c

1931

(3) Undated letter handwritten in black lead pencil beginning "Dear Sir" and ending "Sincerely, [redacted]." A postscript appended to the letter ends with the words "cheek to cheek." This letter appears to be on a page from the same tablet on which item #1 was written. "George F. Kennan" written on back;

(4) White envelope of the same size as item #2, postmarked "U. S. Postal Service, N. J. 085, 10/26/71," addressed in pencil to "[redacted] Colorado" with the return address "[redacted] N. J." Also on the back of the envelope is some miscellaneous pencil handwriting. The envelope bears a cancelled "Emily Dickinson" 8¢ U. S. postage stamp.

All of these items were turned over to an Agent of the Denver Office on 11/15/71, by [redacted]

[redacted], who stated that [redacted] received both of the letters at his home in [redacted], Colorado. As the Bureau and Newark have previously been informed, [redacted] is a [redacted] [redacted], who for many years has been prominent in civic affairs in the State of Colorado. He is [redacted]

b6  
b7C

It appears that there is a definite probability that the above letters represent a continuation of a series of letters of a similar obscene and threatening nature which [redacted] has been receiving through the mails since the early part of 1970.

The U. S. Attorney at Denver has previously stated that since the letters were mailed in the State of New Jersey, primary venue for prosecution would be in that district; however, as previously reported, the U. S. Attorney at Trenton, New Jersey, has declined prosecution.

DN 9-1931

On 4/12/71, Newark reported that [redacted] [redacted], Postal Inspector at Trenton, New Jersey, has been coordinating inquiries concerning a series of obscene letters apparently written by [redacted] and post-marked in the State of New Jersey. Newark stated that as of 3/31/71, information had been received from [redacted] [redacted] indicating that the U. S. Attorney in Trenton was considering prosecuting [redacted] for disseminating obscene matter through the mails.

The Laboratory is requested to compare the handwriting appearing on these enclosures with writing appearing on similar letters collected in this case, including that which has been identified as the writing of [redacted], and the original letters and envelopes should be processed for latent prints and if any are developed, they should be compared with the prints currently on file of [redacted], who has FBI Number [redacted].

b6  
b7C

The original enclosures should be handled as evidence and report of the findings of the Laboratory and the fingerprint examiners should be forwarded to the Newark and Denver Offices.

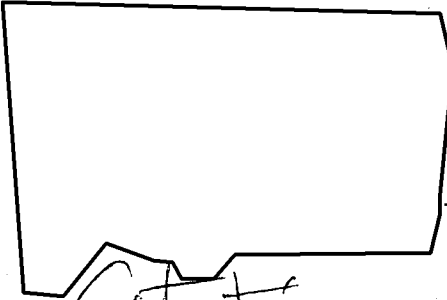
The Newark Division is requested to contact the Office of the Postal Inspector at Trenton, New Jersey, and determine what prosecutive action, if any, has been instituted against [redacted].

Newark is also requested to attempt to determine the present whereabouts of [redacted] and in the event information should be received indicating that he intends to come to the State of Colorado, the Denver Office should be advised immediately since [redacted] [redacted] are very much concerned for fear he might make efforts to harm them.

For the information of Newark, there is enclosed under obscene cover one Xerox copy each of the above-listed items.

9-51543 ENCLOSURE 9

Lae, Denver (9-1931)



AKA:  
- Victim

Extortion

UBA 61 330  
LC No.

Examiner  
Noted by  
No. of Photos



21

9-51593  
9-25671  
11/16/71 (circled)

b6  
b7c

Q 17, Q 19 - envelopes

Q 18 - Q 20 - letters

2 lat fpts  
photos & labrets

9-51593

1 HEC





**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535**

1 -

To: SAC, Denver (9-1931)

Date: December 8, 1971

Re:  aka  
- VICTIM;  
EXTORTION  
OO: Denver

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover, Director

FBI File No. 9-51593  
Lab. No. D-711122023 LW

Examination requested by: Denver

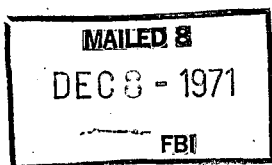
Reference: Airtel 11/16/71

Examination requested: Document - Fingerprint

Remarks:

Specimens Q17 through Q20 will be returned  
with the results of the latent fingerprint examination.

b6  
b7c



EX-100

Enclosures (2) (2 Lab report)  
1 - Newark (9-2495) Enclosure (Lab report)

GRH/mr (5)

REC 20

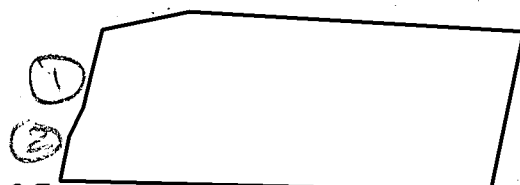
9-51593-10

10 DEC 21 1971

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

1 ENCLOSURE  
*Obscene*  
ENCLOSURE ATTACHED  
*JWE*  
*CFRP*

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE



50 DEC 30 1971 MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

20 DEC 1971

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

RECEIVED  
GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE  
DIVISION

DEC 8 2 36 PM '71

F. B. I.

CBH\WLD (2) U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

DEC 27 1971

*ch*  
*12/23*  
*ch*  
*12/29*  
*hij*

TO DEC 27 1971

REC 52.

b6  
b7C

I -

REPORT  
of theFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: SAC, Denver (9-1931)

Date:

December 8, 1971

Re: [redacted], aka  
[redacted] - VICTIM;  
EXTORTION

FBI File No.

9-51593

Lab. No.

D-711122023 LW

Specimens received 11/19/71

Q17 Envelope postmarked "U. S. POSTAL SERVICE, NJ035, NOV 10 PM 1971," bearing handwritten address "[redacted], Colorado."

Q18 One page handwritten letter beginning "Dear [redacted], One good kick....," signed "[redacted]."

b6  
b7c

Q19 Envelope postmarked "U. S. POSTAL SERVICE, NJ 5, OCT 2 5 PM 1971" bearing handwritten address "[redacted], Colorado."

Q20 One page handwritten letter beginning "Dear Sir, I enjoyed dancing....,"

## Result of examination:

It was concluded that specimens Q17 through Q20 were written by [redacted], whose known handwriting K1 was previously submitted. [redacted] has been identified with previously submitted specimens in this case.

Specimens Q17 through Q20 were photographed and will be returned separately.

GRH/mr (5)

12-6  
**RECORDED**  
**12/2/71**  
**ljp**

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Laboratory Work Sheet

NO LAB FILE

Re: [REDACTED] aka  
 [REDACTED] - VICTIM;  
**EXTORTION**  
**00: Denver**

**LATENT**

File # **9-51593 -10**  
 Lab. # **D-711122023 LW**

Examination requested by: **Denver (9-1931) Letter 11/16/71**

Examination requested: **Document - Fingerprint**

Date received: **11/19/71**

Result of Examination:

Examination by: [REDACTED]

Q17 - 20 IDENT  
 Photoed net sep (L.F.)

Specimens submitted for examination

- Q17 Envelope postmarked "U. S. POSTAL SERVICE, NJ035, NOV 10 PM 1971," bearing handwritten address "[REDACTED] Colorado."
- Q18 One page handwritten letter beginning "Dear [REDACTED], One good kick....," signed [REDACTED]
- Q19 Envelope postmarked "U. S. POSTAL SERVICE, NJ 5, OCT 2 5 PM 1971," bearing handwritten address "[REDACTED] Colorado."
- Q20 One page handwritten letter beginning "Dear Sir, I enjoyed dancing.....,"

b6  
 b7C

CC NK 9-2495  
 [REDACTED]  
 12/8/71

PHOTOGRAPHED  
 DEC 2 1971

11/16/71

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (9-51593)  
ATTENTION: FBI LABORATORY

FROM : SAC, DENVER (9-1931)(P)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED] aka.;  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM  
EXTORTION  
OO: DENVER

Enclosed under obscene cover attention FBI Laboratory is the original and one Xerox copy each of the following items:

(1) Handwritten letter which is undated and begins "Dear [REDACTED]" and ends with the signature "[REDACTED]." The letter is written in what appears to be a blue ball-point pen and contains veiled threats and obscenities, and is written on yellow tablet paper approximately 7 3/4" by 12 1/2" lined in blue horizontal lines with a triple red and blue vertical line on the left margin;

(2) A white envelope approximately 9 1/2" by 4 1/4", bearing the postmark "11/10/71, U. S. Postal Service, N. J. 085." The front of the envelope is addressed to "[REDACTED], Colorado" and the back of the envelope bears the return address "[REDACTED], N. J." All writing on the envelope appears to have been made with a blue ball-point pen and the envelope bears an 8¢ U. S. postage stamp;

3 - Bureau (Enc. 8)(RM)  
2 - Newark (9-2495)(Enc. 4)(RM)  
1 - Denver  
PEB/11d  
(6)

b6  
b7c

DN 9-1931

(3) Undated letter handwritten in black lead pencil beginning "Dear Sir" and ending "Sincerely, [redacted]." A postscript appended to the letter ends with the words "cheek to cheek." This letter appears to be on a page from the same tablet on which item #1 was written. "George F. Kennan" written on back;

(4) White envelope of the same size as item #2, postmarked "U. S. Postal Service, N. J. 085, 10/26/71," addressed in pencil to "[redacted], Colorado" with the return address "[redacted], N. J." Also on the back of the envelope is some miscellaneous pencil handwriting. The envelope bears a cancelled "Emily Dickinson" 8¢ U. S. postage stamp.

All of these items were turned over to an Agent of the Denver Office on 11/15/71, by [redacted]

[redacted], who stated that [redacted] received both of the letters at his home in [redacted], Colorado. As the Bureau and Newark have previously been informed, [redacted] is a [redacted]

b6  
b7C

It appears that there is a definite probability that the above letters represent a continuation of a series of letters of a similar obscene and threatening nature which [redacted] has been receiving through the mails since the early part of 1970.

The U. S. Attorney at Denver has previously stated that since the letters were mailed in the State of New Jersey, primary venue for prosecution would be in that district; however, as previously reported, the U. S. Attorney at Trenton, New Jersey, has declined prosecution.

DN 9-1931

On 4/12/71, Newark reported that [redacted]  
[redacted], New Jersey, has been coordinating inquiries concerning a series of obscene letters apparently written by [redacted] and post-marked in the State of New Jersey. Newark stated that as of 3/31/71, information had been received from [redacted] indicating that the U. S. Attorney in Trenton was considering prosecuting [redacted] for disseminating obscene matter through the mails.

The Laboratory is requested to compare the handwriting appearing on these enclosures with writing appearing on similar letters collected in this case, including that which has been identified as the writing of [redacted], and the original letters and envelopes should be processed for latent prints and if any are developed, they should be compared with the prints currently on file of [redacted], who has FBI Number [redacted].

b6  
b7C

The original enclosures should be handled as evidence and report of the findings of the Laboratory and the fingerprint examiners should be forwarded to the Newark and Denver Offices.

The Newark Division is requested to contact the Office of the Postal Inspector at Trenton, New Jersey, and determine what prosecutive action, if any, has been instituted against [redacted].

Newark is also requested to attempt to determine the present whereabouts of [redacted] and in the event information should be received indicating that he intends to come to the State of Colorado, the Denver Office should be advised immediately since [redacted] are very much concerned for fear he might make efforts to harm them.

For the information of Newark, there is enclosed under obscene cover one Xerox copy each of the above-listed items.

RECORDED  
12/2/71  
13P

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Laboratory Work Sheet

NO LAB FILE

Re:  aka  
 - VICTIM;  
EXTORTION  
OO: Denver

LATENT

File # 9-51593 -18  
Lab. # D-711122023 LV

Examination requested by: Denver (9-1231) Letter 11/16/71

Examination requested: Document - Fingerprint

Date received: 11/19/71

Result of Examination:

Examination by:

*Q-20 12/16/71  
Not to be done  
GRU 12/16*

Received by LFPS  
*12/17/71*

b6  
b7C

*Q5 set & with report to Denver  
12/14/71 TBS*

Specimens submitted for examination

- Q17 Envelope postmarked "U. S. POSTAL SERVICE . NJ035. NOV 10 PM 1971." bearing handwritten address  Colorado."
- Q18 One page handwritten letter beginning Dear Coors, One good kick....," signed ."
- Q19 Envelope postmarked "U. S. POSTAL SERVICE. NJ 5. OCT 2 5 PM 1971" bearing handwritten address  Colorado."
- Q20 One page handwritten letter beginning "Dear Sir, I enjoyed dancing.....,"

PHOTOGRAPHED  
DEC 2 1971



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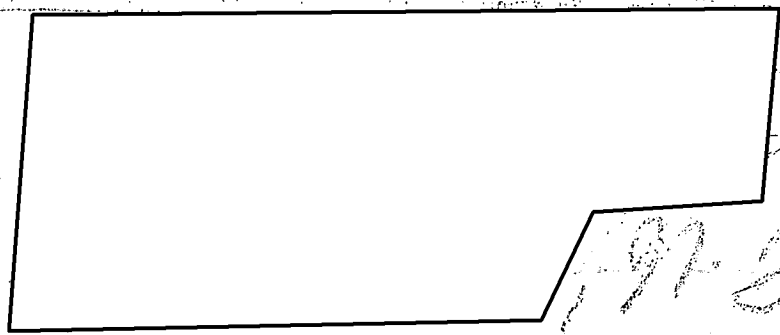
9-51593-10

This enclosure not to be opened  
without supervisor's permission.

This enclosure not to be opened  
without supervisor's permission

9-51593-10

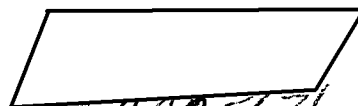
b6  
b7C



1978

Georgia Pacific Railroad  
The Railroad & the Georgia  
made a plan Aug.

BACK



LC #A25671

12-8-71

b6  
b7C

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>DENVER</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>DENVER</b>	DATE <b>1/21/72</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>11/15/71 - 1/10/72</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>[REDACTED] aka; [REDACTED] - VICTIM</b>		REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b>	TYPED BY <b>jek</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>EXTORTION</b>	

b6  
b7C

REFERENCES: Denver report of SA [REDACTED], 11/23/70;  
Denver airtel to Bureau, 11/16/71;  
Bureau letter to Denver, 12/8/71;  
Bureau letter to Denver, 12/14/71;  
Newark airtel to Denver, 12/20/71;  
Newark letter to Denver, 1/7/72.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:  PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW <b>9-51593-11</b> <b>JAN 24 1972</b>	REC-2
COPIES MADE: 1 - Bureau (9-51593) (RM) 2 - Newark (9-2495) (RM) (1 - USA, Trenton, New Jersey) 1 - Denver (9-1931)		

Dissemination Record of Attached Report					Notations  <b>STAT. SECT.</b>
Agency					
Request Recd.					
Date Fwd.					
How Fwd.					
By <b>JAN 27 1972</b>					

DN 9-1931

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Since August, 1970, [redacted] of [redacted], New Jersey, has been periodically mailing obscene and threatening letters to [redacted], [redacted], Colorado. The matter has been previously submitted to the USA, Trenton, New Jersey, by both U. S. Postal authorities and FBI Agents, but prosecution has been declined.

b6  
b7C

B\*  
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - USA, Trenton, New Jersey

Report of: [REDACTED]  
Date: January 21, 1972

Office: DENVER

Field Office File #: 9-1931

Bureau File #: 9-51593

Title: [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM

Character: EXTORTION

## Synopsis:

On 11/10/71, obscene and threatening letter mailed from State of New Jersey to [REDACTED], Colorado. FBI Laboratory identified handwriting on letter as that of [REDACTED], [REDACTED], New Jersey, who has previously written similar letters to [REDACTED]. On 12/27/71, [REDACTED] denied writing letter. USA, Trenton, New Jersey declined prosecution.

b6  
b7C

- C -

DETAILS:On November 15, 1971, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED],

Colorado, turned over to SA [REDACTED] a handwritten letter which was undated and began "Dear [REDACTED]" and ends with the signature [REDACTED]. The letter was written with what appeared to be a blue ball-point pen and it contained veiled threats and obscenities, and was written on yellow tablet paper approximately 7 3/4" by 12 1/2" lined in blue horizontal lines with a triple red and blue vertical line on the left margin.

DN 9-1931

[redacted] also released a white envelope approximately 9 1/2" by 4 1/4", bearing the postmark of "11/10/71, U. S. Postal Service, N. J. 085."

The front of the envelope was addressed to "[redacted]  
[redacted], Colorado" and the back of the envelope bore the return address "[redacted]  
[redacted], N. J."

All writing on the envelope was similar to that which would be made with a blue ball-point pen and the envelope had an 8¢ U. S. postage stamp affixed to it.

[redacted] stated that the letter had been enclosed in this envelope at the time it was received by [redacted] in [redacted], Colorado and that the letter appeared quite similar to those which had been received periodically by [redacted], as previously reported, since August, 1970, and which had been written by [redacted].

b6  
b7C

The letter and envelope were forwarded to the FBI Laboratory for appropriate examination and on December 8, 1971 the Laboratory reported that an examination of the handwriting appearing on these documents revealed that it was identical with handwriting previously identified as that of [redacted].

On December 14, 1971, the Latent Fingerprint Section, Identification Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation, reported that the documents in question had been processed for latent prints; that two latents were developed but that they were not identical with the fingerprints of [redacted], who has FBI No. [redacted].



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

12/27/71

Date of transcription

1

[redacted], [redacted], was advised of the identity of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the inquiry. He was advised of his rights by SA [redacted]. [redacted] stated that he understood them, however, he declined to sign the form entitled, "Interrogation; Advice of Rights".

[redacted] stated, "I have not written any letters to [redacted] in [redacted] Colorado."

He further advised, "I have no intention of writing any letters in the future to [redacted]." [redacted] advised that he has no intention of leaving the [redacted] New Jersey, area. After being advised by the interviewing Agents that the Federal Bureau of Investigation Laboratory had positively identified questioned letters in this matter to have been written by him, [redacted] stated, "I have not written any letters to [redacted]."

[redacted] was advised by the interviewing Agents that if he continued to write these letters, it was possible that he would be arrested and placed in jail. [redacted] stated that he has not written any letters to anyone. [redacted] further advised that if the Federal Bureau of Investigation felt that he was guilty of writing these letters, he was ready to go to jail concerning this matter. [redacted] stated, "If I go to jail, I will have a lot of time to do some thinking."

Interviewed on 12/20/71 at [redacted], N. J. File # NK 9-2495

SA [redacted]  
by SA [redacted] WDB:emt Date dictated 12/22/71

DN 9-1931

On December 20, 1971, the Newark Division advised that on that date this matter had again been discussed with Assistant U. S. Attorney ROGER F. STEFFENS, Trenton, New Jersey, who declined prosecution of [REDACTED] since he felt there was insufficient evidence of a Federal violation and that he had previously declined prosecution of [REDACTED] in connection with a possible postal violation involving similar letters in view of the fact that [REDACTED] had been a patient in a mental institution in the past and that prosecutive action against him would be extremely difficult.

b6  
b7C

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20537

## REPORT

of the

## IDENTIFICATION DIVISION

LATENT FINGERPRINT SECTION



YOUR FILE NO.  
 REC-129 FBI FILE NO.  
 LATENT CASE NO.

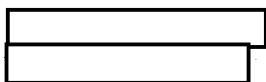
9-1931  
 9-51593-12  
 A-25671

March 1, 1972

TO: SAC, Denver

SI-114

RE:



AKA;  
 - VICTIM

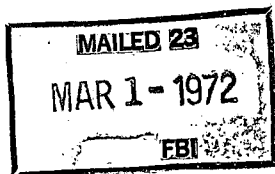
EXTORTION

REFERENCE: Airtel 2-7-72  
 EXAMINATION REQUESTED BY: Denver  
 SPECIMENS: Q21, airgram

Listed Q specimen described in separate  
 Laboratory report.

No latent prints of value developed on  
 enclosed specimen.

b6  
 b7C



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
 Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
 Waikart \_\_\_\_\_  
 Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
 Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Enc.

1 - Newark (9-2495)

AMES: jeb

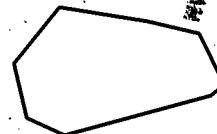
MAR 8 1972

MAIL ROOM

THIS REPORT IS FURNISHED FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

John Edgar Hoover, Director



RECORDED  
2-22-72  
vln

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Recorded 2/25/72 10:14 a.m. 1st Laboratory Work Sheet

NO LAB FILE  
Received 2/25/72

Re: [redacted] aka;  
[redacted] - VICTIM;  
EXTORTION LATENT

File # 9-51593-12 ✓  
Lab. # D-720211001 LW  
LC# A-25671

OO: Denver

Examination requested by: Denver (9-1931) airtel 2-7-72

Examination requested: Document - Fingerprint

Date received: 2-10-72

Result of Examination: — 2-25-72-mud

Examination by: [redacted]

spec pvc (1- min-50) no lots

called Bufile

Noted by: [redacted]

b6  
b7C

— 2-28-72-mud

(over reg lat fpts ser  
Coud fpts  
FBI  
He)

spec end  
Lab reg reg

Specimens submitted for examination

Q21 Airgram postmarked "U.S. POSTAL SERVICE. NJ JAN 28 5 PM  
1972 085," bearing handwritten address "Chief of Police  
Police Department [redacted], Colorado," beginning "I have been..."

(per envelope mud)

1-Hee  
Bif

1cc Howard (9-2495)

Examination completed 145 2/28  
Time Date

mud.  
3-1-72  
mes-jan

Dictated 2/28/72  
Date

FBI

Date: 2/7/72

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (9-51593)  
ATTENTION: FBI LABORATORY

FROM: SAC, DENVER (9-1931) (P)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED], aka;  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM  
EXTORTION  
OO: DENVER

720211001

Rerep SA [REDACTED] 1/21/72, at Denver.

Enclosed to the FBI Laboratory are a original  
and one Xerox copy of aerogram. One copy of the same  
document is enclosed to Newark.The original aerogram was released to a Denver  
Agent on 2/1/72, by [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED], Colorado, who obtained  
it from the police department at [REDACTED], Colorado.This is a 15¢ aerogram bearing a U.S. Postal  
Service NJ, postmarked dated Jan 28-72. It is addressed  
in handwriting to "Chief of Police, Police Department,  
[REDACTED], Colorado," and reads as follows:

"Chief of Police: [REDACTED]"

"I have been informed of a secret  
plot by [REDACTED], [REDACTED]  
Colorado in [REDACTED]."

- 3 - Bureau (RM) (Enc. 2)
  - 2 - Newark (9-2495) (Enc. 1) (RM)
  - 2 - Denver
- PEB:sjk  
(7)

16 FEB 10 1972

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



DN 9-1931

"The plot involves a [redacted]  
[redacted] of [redacted], N.J. He has received  
an indirect threat from two F.B.I. agents  
that [redacted] is going to have him bumped  
off. Please investigate, [redacted]

[redacted] is not a member of [redacted]  
[redacted], Colorado. However,  
during the 1970 elections in Colorado a man by that name  
was an unsuccessful candidate for the [redacted].

A handwritten return address on the back of the  
aerogram reads as follows:

[redacted]  
on vacation in Princeton"

b6  
b7C

Denver file reflects last interview of [redacted] by  
FBI Agents was reported on FD 302 dated at [redacted] New  
Jersey, 12/20/71, copy of which was included in rerep as  
Page 3.

It is requested that the FBI Laboratory compare  
the handwriting appearing on this aerogram with known hand-  
writing of [redacted] previously submitted in this case.

It is requested that the Identification Division  
then process the original aerogram for latent prints and  
compare any which are developed with fingerprints of [redacted]  
[redacted], FBI No. [redacted]

Results of these examinations should be furnished  
Denver and Newark. The original document should be handled  
as evidence and returned to Denver.

As previously reported [redacted] has been identified  
as a prolific obscene and threatening letter writer and the  
U.S. Attorney at Trenton, New Jersey, has previously declined  
prosecution in this matter in connection with letters directed  
by [redacted] to [redacted] because of the alleged mental derange-  
ment of [redacted].

[redacted], [redacted], Colorado,  
[redacted]

DN 9-1931

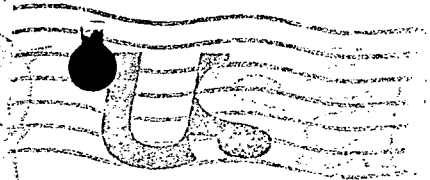
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] has requested that any information developed by Newark indicating that [REDACTED] is en route to the State of Colorado be immediately reported in order that appropriate measures can be taken for the safety of [REDACTED].

b6  
b7C

Pending results of FBI Laboratory examination in this case and possible further discussions with the U.S. Attorney at Trenton, it is requested that Newark notify Denver immediately of any indication [REDACTED] is traveling in the western states area.





postage 15c

Chief of Police  
Police Department  
[redacted] Colorado

VIA AIR MAIL • PAR AVION

SECOND FOLD

b6  
b7c

[redacted] 9-51598-12

9-51598-12  
ENCLOSURE



# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C. 20537

## REPORT

of the

## IDENTIFICATION DIVISION

### LATENT FINGERPRINT SECTION

EX-101  
YOUR FILE NO.

FBI FILE NO.

LATENT CASE NO.

9-1931

9-51593-13

A-25671

March 15, 1972

TO: SAC, Denver

RE: [REDACTED] AKA;  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM  
EXTORTION

REFERENCE: Airtel 2/16/72  
EXAMINATION REQUESTED BY: Denver  
SPECIMENS: Q22, aërogram

Listed Q specimen described in separate  
Laboratory report.

Two latent fingerprints of value developed  
on specimen.

See attached page for results of comparisons  
conducted.

Specimen enclosed.

Enc.

1 - Newark (9-2495)

MES:rj

(7)

John Edgar Hoover, Director

THIS REPORT IS FURNISHED FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

56 MAR 24 1972

b6  
b7C

Your File No. 9-1931  
FBI File No. 9-51593  
Latent Case No. A-25671

March 15, 1972

RE:

FBI

b6  
b7C

Two latent fingerprints developed on an "Aerogram" postmarked "Postal Service, N.J. 085, Jan. 27 2 PM 1972." have been identified as finger impressions of [REDACTED]

Recorded  
2/26/72

smd

Recorded: 3-10-72

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

12:01 P.M. tmm  
Laboratory Work Sheet

NO LAB FILE

Received: 3-10-72

Re:

[Redacted]

aka;

VICTIM;

LATENT

File #

9-51593-13

Lab. #

D-720222114 LW

EXTORTION

LC# A-25671

OO: Denver

Examination requested by: SAC, Denver (9-1931) A. 2/16/72

Examination requested: Document - Fingerprint

Date received: 2/22/72

Result of Examination:

Examination by: [Redacted]

Named Subject:

[Redacted]

FBI#

[Redacted]

Noted By:

[Redacted]

spec proc (I-VIN)  
to photo (u)  
Called Bufile  
Jch. reg  
22

Specimens submitted for examination

Q28

Aerogram postmarked U.S. POSTAL SERVICE, NJ/JAN 27 2 PM  
1972 bearing handwritten note beginning, "Dear [Redacted]  
At the last meeting..."

085

RETURN EVIDENCE

Spec proc (SN) - no add'l lats  
2 lat fpts val devel on Q22-2 #1 #1  
spec end  
Lab reg exp

Also  
MES. H  
3/15/72

Examination completed

Time

Dictated

Date

1 cc Newark (9-2495)

Date

F B I

Date: 2/16/72

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (9-51593)  
(Attn: FBI Laboratory)

FROM: SAC, DENVER (9-1931) (P)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED], aka;  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM  
EXTORTION  
CDN

720222114

Re Denver airtel to Bureau 2/7/72.

Enclosed for the FBI Laboratory are an original and one Xerox copy of aerogram postmarked in the State of New Jersey, January 27, 1972. One Xerox copy enclosed to Newark.

Original aerogram was released to Denver SA 2/10/72 by [REDACTED], Colorado.

This is a 15-cent aerogram, similar to the one forwarded to the Laboratory by Denver on 2/7/72, bearing U.S. Postal Service, New Jersey, postmark dated January 27, 1972. It is addressed in handwriting to [REDACTED], Colorado, and is signed [REDACTED].

The message in handwriting reads "Dear [REDACTED], at the last meeting of the League of Revolutionary Black Niggers, you were sentenced to 100 lashes with the whip and to 200 years of hard labor in the coal mines of Siberia. Also, I have been informed by [REDACTED]"

3-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)  
2-Newark (9-2495) (Enc. 1) (RM)  
2-Denver

PEB:cs (7)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

REC'D  
FBI-LABORATORY

5 FEB 21 1945

FEB 22 10 29 AM '72

GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE

RECEIVED  
FEB 22 10 39 AM 1971  
LABORATORY

FEB 22 10 30 AM '68  
DOCUMENT LABORATORY  
FBI

COPIES  
FBI  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

FEB 22 1972

RECEIVED

REC'D - CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION  
FEB 24 10 56 AM '72

MAR 10 8 04 AM '72

100

DN 9-1931

that you threatened him with death via two FBI  
(goons) Agents. consequently, the FBI and [redacted]  
Colorado police will be informed accordingly.  
Sincerely, [redacted], [redacted].

b6  
b7C

It is requested that the FBI Laboratory compare  
handwriting on this document with known handwriting  
of [redacted] previously submitted in this case.

Identification Division requested to process  
original document for latent prints and compare any  
which are developed with fingerprints of [redacted]  
FBI Number [redacted]

Results of examination should be furnished  
Denver and Newark, and original document should be  
handled as evidence and returned to Denver.

9-51593-13

ENCLOSURE



See, Denver (9-1931)



AKA  
- Victim

Extortion

Battle No.

LC No.

Date of Relet

Examiner

Noted by

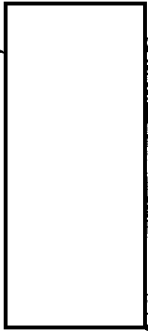
No. of Photos

b6  
b7C

~~9-51593~~

~~A-25671~~

~~initial 2/16/73~~



~~6~~

Q 22 - Aerogram

2 lat photo (x)

Photos & lat  
9-51593

1 HEC



"Aerogram"  
U.S. Postal Service, NY 085  
Jan 27 2 PM  
1972

Perogram Postmarked  
U.S. Postal Service, NJ  
085 Jan 27 2 PM

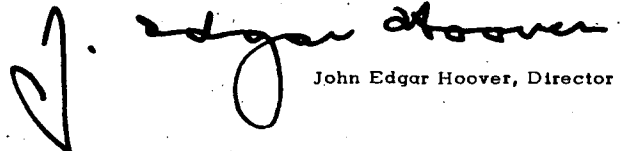


**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535**

To: SAC, Denver (9-1931)

Date: February 24, 1972

Re: [redacted]

aka;  
- VICTIM;EXTORTION  
OO: Denver  
John Edgar Hoover, Director

FBI File No.

9-51593

Lab. No.

D-720211001 LW

Examination requested by:

Denver

Reference:

Airtel 2/7/72

Examination requested:

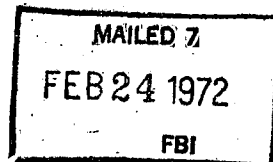
Document - Fingerprint

Remarks:

Specimen Q21 will be returned with the results of  
the latent fingerprint examination.

b6  
b7c

Enclosures (2) (2 Lab report)



REC-4

9-51593-14  
19 MAR 1 1972

GRH:1al (4)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Miller, E.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Bates \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

54 MAR 6 1972

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

**REPORT  
of the****FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535**To: **SAC, Denver (9-1931)**Date:  
FBI File No.  
Lab. No.**February 24, 1972**  
**9-51593 - 14**  
**D-720211001 LW**Re: [redacted] aka;  
[redacted] - **VICTIM;**  
**EXTORTION**b6  
b7C

Specimens received

**2/10/72**

**Q21** Airgram postmarked "U.S. POSTAL SERVICE. NJ JAN 28 5 PM  
1972 085," bearing handwritten address "Chief of Police  
Police Department [redacted], Colorado," beginning "I have been.."

**Result of examination:**

It was determined that the questioned writing on  
specimen Q21 was written by [redacted], K1, whose known  
handwriting was previously submitted.

[redacted] has been identified as the writer  
of numerous previously submitted specimens in this case.

Specimen Q21 was photographed and will be returned  
separately.

GRH:1a1 (4)

RECORDED

2-22-72

vln

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICELaboratory Work SheetNO LAB FILE

Re:

aka;

- VICTIM;

EXTORTION

LATENT

File # 9-51593 — 14

Lab. # D-720211001 LW

OO: Denver

Examination requested by: Denver (9-1931) airtel 2-7-72

Examination requested: Document - Fingerprint

Date received: 2-10-72

Result of Examination:

Examination by: 

Q21 IDENT

K1 prev.

num prev

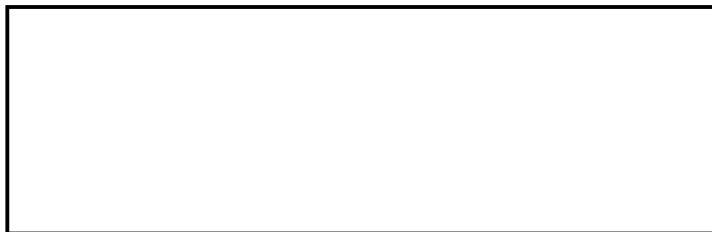
To find out rep (LP)

b6  
b7CSpecimens submitted for examination

- Q21 Airgram postmarked "U.S. POSTAL SERVICE. NJ JAN 28 5 PM 1972 085," bearing handwritten address "Chief of Police Police Department  Colorado," beginning "I have been..."

Lab. #  
ARH. lab  
2/24/72

Q2/



b6  
b7C

h CoC

THESE ARE THE ONLY TWO COPIES OF THE ORIGINALS OF THE  
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2/7/72

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (9-51593)  
ATTENTION: FBI LABORATORY

FROM: SAC, DENVER (9-1931) (P)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED], aka;  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM  
EXTORTION  
OO: DENVER

Rerep SA [REDACTED] 1/21/72, at Denver.

Enclosed to the FBI Laboratory are an original and one Xerox copy of aerogram. One copy of the same document is enclosed to Newark.

The original aerogram was released to a Denver Agent on 2/1/72. by [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED], Colorado, who obtained it from the police department at [REDACTED], Colorado.

This is a 15¢ aerogram bearing a U.S. Postal Service NJ, postmarked dated Jan 28-72. It is addressed in handwriting to "Chief of Police, Police Department, [REDACTED], Colorado," and reads as follows:

"Chief of Police:

"I have been informed of a secret plot by [REDACTED] of Colorado in [REDACTED].

(3) - Bureau (RM) (ENC. 2)  
2 - Newark (9-2495) (Enc. 1) (RM)  
2 - Denver  
PEB:sjk  
(7)

b6  
b7C



DN 9-1931

"The plot involves a [redacted]  
[redacted] of [redacted], N.J. He has received  
an indirect threat from two F.B.I. agents  
that [redacted] is going to have him bumped  
off. Please investigate, [redacted]

[redacted] is not a member of the [redacted]  
[redacted] Colorado. However,  
during the 1970 elections in Colorado a man by that name  
was an unsuccessful candidate for the [redacted].

A handwritten return address on the back of the  
aerogram reads as follows:

[redacted] Colorado  
on vacation in [redacted]

Denver file reflects last interview of [redacted] by  
FBI Agents was reported on FD 302 dated at [redacted], New  
Jersey, 12/20/71, copy of which was included in rerep as  
Page 3.

It is requested that the FBI Laboratory compare  
the handwriting appearing on this aerogram with known hand-  
writing of [redacted] previously submitted in this case.

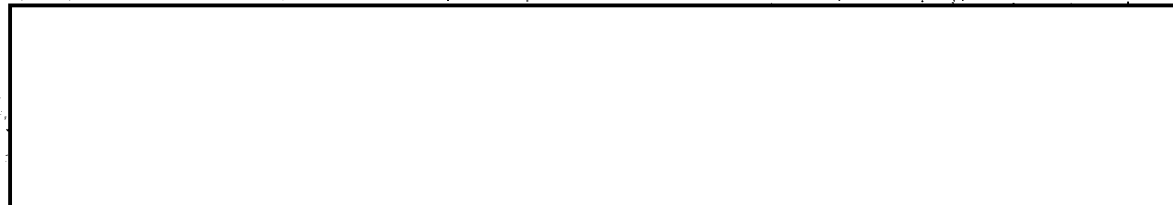
It is requested that the Identification Division  
then process the original aerogram for latent prints and  
compare any which are developed with fingerprints of [redacted]  
[redacted], FBI No. [redacted].

Results of these examinations should be furnished  
Denver and Newark. The original document should be handled  
as evidence and returned to Denver.

As previously reported [redacted] has been identified  
as a prolific obscene and threatening letter writer and the  
U.S. Attorney at Trenton, New Jersey, has previously declined  
prosecution in this matter in connection with letters directed  
by [redacted] to [redacted] because of the alleged mental derange-  
ment of [redacted].

[redacted]  
[redacted]

DN 9-1931



[redacted] has requested that any information developed by Newark indicating that [redacted] is en route to the State of Colorado be immediately reported in order that appropriate measures can be taken for the safety of [redacted].

b6  
b7C

Pending results of FBI Laboratory examination in this case and possible further discussions with the U.S. Attorney at Trenton, it is requested that Newark notify Denver immediately of any indication [redacted] is traveling in the western states area.

7-2  
**RECORDED**  
**2-22-72**  
**vln**

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Laboratory Work Sheet

NO LAB FILE

Re:  aka;  
 - VICTIM;  
**EXTORTION** **LATENT**

File # **9-51593** -14  
Lab. # **D-720211001** LW

**OO: Denver**

Examination requested by: **Denver (9-1931) airtel 2-7-72**

Examination requested: **Document - Fingerprint**

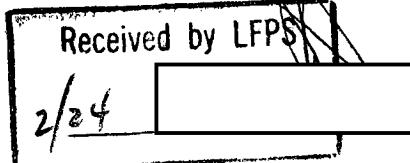
Date received: **2-10-72**

Result of Examination:

Examination by:

Q21 to LPS  
ret to Denver  
2/23 GRH

b6  
b7C



Specimens submitted for examination

*P 440  
uncl  
part*

**Q21 Airgram postmarked "U.S. POSTAL SERVICE. NJ JAN 28 5 PM 1972 085," bearing handwritten address "Chief of Police Police Department  Colorado," beginning "I have been..."**

*Spec returned encl with LFPS reg dated 3/1/72*  
*MB*

7-1b

**REPORT  
of the**



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535**

To: SAC, Denver (9-1931)

Date:  
FBI File No.  
Lab. No.

March 13, 1972  
9-51593 / 5  
D-720222114 LW

Re: [redacted], aka;  
[redacted] - VICTIM;  
EXTORTION

Specimens received

2/22/72

Q22 Aerogram postmarked U.S. POSTAL SERVICE, NJ 085  
JAN 27 2 PM 1972 bearing handwritten note beginning,  
"Dear [redacted], At the last meeting..."

b6  
b7C

**Result of examination:**

It was concluded that specimen Q22 was written  
by [redacted], whose known handwriting, K1, was previous  
submitted. [redacted] has been identified with previously  
submitted specimens in this case.

Specimen Q22 was photographed and will be  
returned separately.

GRH:1al (6)

Recorded  
2/26/72  
smd

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

NO LAB FILE

Laboratory Work Sheet

Re: , aka;  
 - VICTIM; LATENT  
 EXTORTION

File # 9-51593/5  
Lab. # D-720222114 LW

OO: Denver

Examination requested by: SAC, Denver (9-1931) A. 2/16/72

Examination requested: Document - Fingerprint

Date received: 2/22/72

Result of Examination:

Examination by: 

Q22 Ident  
Totaled retype

b6  
b7C

Specimens submitted for examination

085

Q22 Aerogram postmarked U.S. POSTAL SERVICE, NJ/JAN 27 2 PM  
1972 bearing handwritten note beginning, "Dear ,  
At the last meeting..."

RETURN EVIDENCE

2 cc Newark (9-2495)

Lab rpt  
G R H - dd  
3/13/72

SEARCHED  
SERIALIZED  
INDEXED  
FILED  
FEB 22 1972

--

see prev.

## REFERENCES

**THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS**

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARY  
540 EAST 58TH STREET, CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

FIGURE 2 -  $\gamma$ -RADIATION DOSE

SECRET FORMS (REV. 1967)

• *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 2000; 284: 1039-1044

[illegible]

1. *Chlorophyll a* (Chl *a*)

2. *Chlorophyll b* (Chl *b*)

3. *Chlorophyll c* (Chl *c*)

4. *Chlorophyll d* (Chl *d*)

5. *Chlorophyll e* (Chl *e*)

6. *Chlorophyll f* (Chl *f*)

7. *Chlorophyll g* (Chl *g*)

8. *Chlorophyll h* (Chl *h*)

9. *Chlorophyll i* (Chl *i*)

10. *Chlorophyll j* (Chl *j*)

11. *Chlorophyll k* (Chl *k*)

12. *Chlorophyll l* (Chl *l*)

13. *Chlorophyll m* (Chl *m*)

14. *Chlorophyll n* (Chl *n*)

15. *Chlorophyll o* (Chl *o*)

16. *Chlorophyll p* (Chl *p*)

17. *Chlorophyll q* (Chl *q*)

18. *Chlorophyll r* (Chl *r*)

19. *Chlorophyll s* (Chl *s*)

20. *Chlorophyll t* (Chl *t*)

21. *Chlorophyll u* (Chl *u*)

22. *Chlorophyll v* (Chl *v*)

23. *Chlorophyll w* (Chl *w*)

24. *Chlorophyll x* (Chl *x*)

25. *Chlorophyll y* (Chl *y*)

26. *Chlorophyll z* (Chl *z*)

27. *Chlorophyll aa* (Chl *aa*)

28. *Chlorophyll ab* (Chl *ab*)

29. *Chlorophyll ac* (Chl *ac*)

30. *Chlorophyll ad* (Chl *ad*)

31. *Chlorophyll ae* (Chl *ae*)

32. *Chlorophyll af* (Chl *af*)

33. *Chlorophyll ag* (Chl *ag*)

34. *Chlorophyll ah* (Chl *ah*)

35. *Chlorophyll ai* (Chl *ai*)

36. *Chlorophyll aj* (Chl *aj*)

37. *Chlorophyll ak* (Chl *ak*)

38. *Chlorophyll al* (Chl *al*)

39. *Chlorophyll am* (Chl *am*)

40. *Chlorophyll an* (Chl *an*)

41. *Chlorophyll ao* (Chl *ao*)

42. *Chlorophyll ap* (Chl *ap*)

43. *Chlorophyll aq* (Chl *aq*)

44. *Chlorophyll ar* (Chl *ar*)

45. *Chlorophyll as* (Chl *as*)

46. *Chlorophyll at* (Chl *at*)

47. *Chlorophyll au* (Chl *au*)

48. *Chlorophyll av* (Chl *av*)

49. *Chlorophyll aw* (Chl *aw*)

50. *Chlorophyll ax* (Chl *ax*)

51. *Chlorophyll ay* (Chl *ay*)

52. *Chlorophyll az* (Chl *az*)

53. *Chlorophyll aza* (Chl *aza*)

54. *Chlorophyll abz* (Chl *abz*)

55. *Chlorophyll acz* (Chl *acz*)

56. *Chlorophyll adz* (Chl *adz*)

57. *Chlorophyll aez* (Chl *aez*)

58. *Chlorophyll afz* (Chl *afz*)

59. *Chlorophyll agz* (Chl *agz*)

60. *Chlorophyll ahz* (Chl *ahz*)

61. *Chlorophyll aiz* (Chl *aiz*)

62. *Chlorophyll ajz* (Chl *ajz*)

63. *Chlorophyll akz* (Chl *akz*)

64. *Chlorophyll alz* (Chl *alz*)

65. *Chlorophyll amz* (Chl *amz*)

66. *Chlorophyll anz* (Chl *anz*)

67. *Chlorophyll aoz* (Chl *aoz*)

68. *Chlorophyll apz* (Chl *apz*)

69. *Chlorophyll aqz* (Chl *aqz*)

70. *Chlorophyll arz* (Chl *arz*)

71. *Chlorophyll asz* (Chl *asz*)

72. *Chlorophyll atz* (Chl *atz*)

73. *Chlorophyll auz* (Chl *auz*)

74. *Chlorophyll avz* (Chl *avz*)

75. *Chlorophyll awz* (Chl *awz*)

76. *Chlorophyll axz* (Chl *axz*)

77. *Chlorophyll ayz* (Chl *ayz*)

78. *Chlorophyll azz* (Chl *azz*)

79. *Chlorophyll azaa* (Chl *aza*)

80. *Chlorophyll abz* (Chl *abz*)

81. *Chlorophyll acz* (Chl *acz*)

82. *Chlorophyll adz* (Chl *adz*)

83. *Chlorophyll aez* (Chl *aez*)

84. *Chlorophyll afz* (Chl *afz*)

85. *Chlorophyll agz* (Chl *agz*)

86. *Chlorophyll ahz* (Chl *ahz*)

87. *Chlorophyll aiz* (Chl *aiz*)

88. *Chlorophyll ajz* (Chl *ajz*)

89. *Chlorophyll akz* (Chl *akz*)

90. *Chlorophyll alz* (Chl *alz*)

91. *Chlorophyll amz* (Chl *amz*)

92. *Chlorophyll anz* (Chl *anz*)

93. *Chlorophyll aoz* (Chl *aoz*)

94. *Chlorophyll apz* (Chl *apz*)

95. *Chlorophyll aqz* (Chl *aqz*)

96. *Chlorophyll arz* (Chl *arz*)

97. *Chlorophyll asz* (Chl *asz*)

98. *Chlorophyll atz* (Chl *atz*)

99. *Chlorophyll auz* (Chl *auz*)

100. *Chlorophyll avz* (Chl *avz*)

101. *Chlorophyll awz* (Chl *awz*)

102. *Chlorophyll axz* (Chl *axz*)

103. *Chlorophyll ayz* (Chl *ayz*)

104. *Chlorophyll azz* (Chl *azz*)

105. *Chlorophyll azaa* (Chl *aza*)

106. *Chlorophyll abz* (Chl *abz*)

107. *Chlorophyll acz* (Chl *acz*)

108. *Chlorophyll adz* (Chl *adz*)

109. *Chlorophyll aez* (Chl *aez*)

110. *Chlorophyll afz* (Chl *afz*)

111. *Chlorophyll agz* (Chl *agz*)

112. *Chlorophyll ahz* (Chl *ahz*)

113. *Chlorophyll aiz* (Chl *aiz*)

114. *Chlorophyll ajz* (Chl *ajz*)

115. *Chlorophyll akz* (Chl *akz*)

116. *Chlorophyll alz* (Chl *alz*)

117. *Chlorophyll amz* (Chl *amz*)

118. *Chlorophyll anz* (Chl *anz*)

119. *Chlorophyll aoz* (Chl *aoz*)

120. *Chlorophyll apz* (Chl *apz*)

121. *Chlorophyll aqz* (Chl *aqz*)

122. *Chlorophyll arz* (Chl *arz*)

123. *Chlorophyll asz* (Chl *asz*)

124. *Chlorophyll atz* (Chl *atz*)

125. *Chlorophyll auz* (Chl *auz*)

126. *Chlorophyll avz* (Chl *avz*)

127. *Chlorophyll awz* (Chl *awz*)

128. *Chlorophyll axz* (Chl *axz*)

129. *Chlorophyll ayz* (Chl *ayz*)

130. *Chlorophyll azz* (Chl *azz*)

131. *Chlorophyll azaa* (Chl *aza*)

132. *Chlorophyll abz* (Chl *abz*)

133. *Chlorophyll acz* (Chl *acz*)

134. *Chlorophyll adz* (Chl *adz*)

135. *Chlorophyll aez* (Chl *aez*)

136. *Chlorophyll afz* (Chl *afz*)

137. *Chlorophyll agz*

1. *Chlorophyll a* and *Chlorophyll b* were determined by the method of Arar and Collins (1971) using a Shimadzu 101-UV spectrophotometer. The concentration of chlorophylls was expressed in  $\mu\text{g mL}^{-1}$  of the sample.

2/16/72

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (9-51593)  
(Attn: FBI Laboratory)

FROM: SAC, DENVER (9-1931) (P)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED] aka;  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM  
EXTORTION  
QDN

Re Denver airtel to Bureau 2/7/72.

Enclosed for the FBI Laboratory are an original and one Xerox copy of aerogram postmarked in the State of New Jersey, January 27, 1972. One Xerox copy enclosed to Newark.

Original aerogram was released to Denver SA  
2/10/72 by [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED], Colorado.

b6  
b7c

This is a 15-cent aerogram, similar to the one forwarded to the Laboratory by Denver on 2/7/72, bearing U.S. Postal Service, New Jersey, postmark dated January 27, 1972. It is addressed in handwriting to [REDACTED], Colorado, and is signed [REDACTED].

The message in handwriting reads "Dear [REDACTED], at the last meeting of the League of Revolutionary Black Niggers, you were sentenced to 100 lashes with the whip and to 200 years of hard labor in the coal mines of Siberia. Also, I have been informed by [REDACTED]"

3-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)  
2-Newark (9-2495) (Enc. 1) (RM)  
2-Denver

PEB:cs (7)

DN 9-1931

that you threatened him with death via two FBI  
(goons) Agents. consequently, the FBI and [redacted],  
Colorado police will be informed accordingly.  
Sincerely, [redacted].

It is requested that the FBI Laboratory compare  
handwriting on this document with known handwriting  
of [redacted] previously submitted in this case.

b6  
b7C

Identification Division requested to process  
original document for latent prints and compare any  
which are developed with fingerprints of [redacted]  
FBI Number [redacted]

Results of examination should be furnished  
Denver and Newark, and original document should be  
handled as evidence and returned to Denver.



**Recorded**  
**2/28/72**  
**amd**

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

**NO LAB FILE**

Laboratory Work Sheet

Re: , aka;  
 - VICTIM; **LATENT**  
**EXTORTION**

File #  
 Lab. #

**9-51593 15**  
**D-720222114 LW**

**OO: Denver**

Examination requested by:

**SAC, Denver (9-1931) A. 2/16/72**

b6  
 b7C

Examination requested:

**Document - Fingerprint**

Date received:

**2/22/72**

Result of Examination:

Examination by:

*Q22 to LES  
 ref to Den  
 3/15/72*

Received by LFPS	
	<i>3/9</i>

Specimens submitted for examination

**Q23** Aerogram postmarked **U.S. POSTAL SERVICE, NJ/JAN 27 2 PM**  
**1972** bearing handwritten note beginning,  
**At the last meeting..."**

**RETURN EVIDENCE**

*Spec returned  
 with LFPS - y g 3/15/72  
 22 P+10  
 encs*

Enclosure To Bureau  
Bureau 87-103976  
Detroit 87-17907  
30-194 dated 2/27/69

INTERNAL

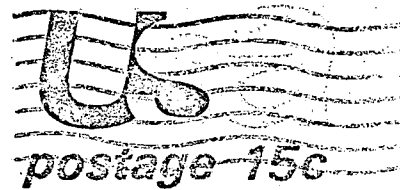
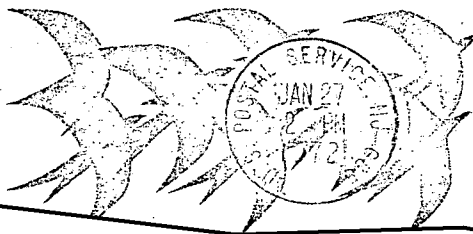
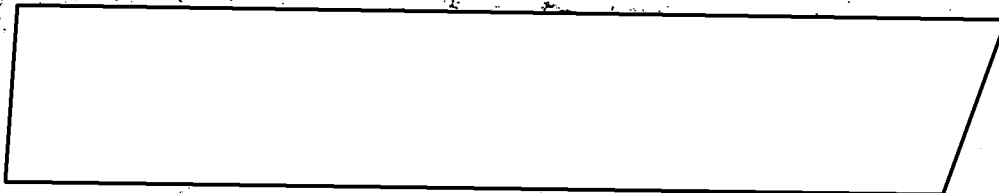
RS98



Ph

Evid. KEC12  
PC# A-25671  
3/10/72

9-51593-15

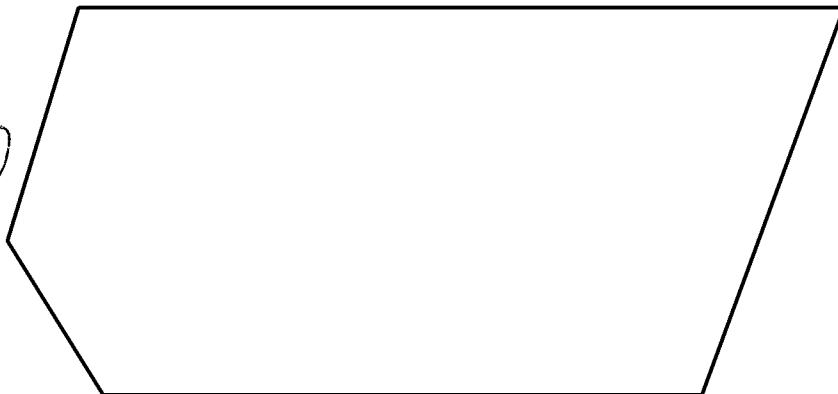


b6  
b7C

VIA AIR MAIL • PAR AVION

SECOND FOLD

*Colorado*



DO NOT USE TAPE OR STICKERS TO SEAL  
NO ENCLOSURES PERMITTED

FIRST FOLD

9-51593-15

**DOCUMENT (S) CANNOT  
BE SCANNED**

**DESCRIPTION:**

**PHOTO NEGATIVES**

9-51593-15

FILE#

9-51593

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

EXAMINER

# LW

Q# 21

K#

NEGATIVES

INITIALS \_\_\_\_\_

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>DENVER</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>DENVER</b>	DATE <b>3/29/72</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>2/1/72 - 3/17/72</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>"CHANGED"</b> [redacted], Aka [redacted] - VICTIM		REPORT MADE BY [redacted]	TYPED BY <b>vlr</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>EXTORTION</b>	

b6  
b7C

Title marked "changed" to add the name [redacted]  
[redacted] as an alias of [redacted].

REFERENCES: Denver report of SA [redacted], dated 1/21/72;  
 Denver airtel to Bureau, dated 2/7/72;  
 Denver airtel to Bureau, dated 2/16/72;  
 Bureau letter to Denver, dated 2/24/72;  
 Bureau letter to Denver, dated 3/13/72;  
 Bureau letter to Denver, dated 3/15/72.

-P-

LEADS:THE NEWARK DIVISION:

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			
								PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO
APPROVED <i>N/f</i>						SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE		DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
COPIES MADE:						9-51593/6 20 APR 3 1972 MCT-12 REG-71 EX-100		
1 - Bureau (9-51593) (RM) 1 - USA, Denver 2 - Newark (9-2495) (RM) (1 - USA, Trenton, New Jersey) 2 - Denver (9-1931)								
Dissemination Record of Attached Report						Notations		
Agency						SIX STAT SECT.		
Request Recd.								
Date Fwd.								
How Fwd.								
By <i>R527</i>								

70 APR 10 1972

COVER PAGE

AT TRENTON, NEW JERSEY: Will discuss with AUSA, Trenton, New Jersey, who has declined prosecution in this matter concerning previous letters written to [ ] by [ ], all of which were postmarked in the State of New Jersey. Determine if AUSA in a position to take action to restrain [ ] from continuing harrassing letters to [ ], and notify Denver of results.

THE DENVER DIVISION:

b6  
b7C

AT DENVER, COLORADO: If AUSA, Trenton, New Jersey, declines to take action in this case, discuss with USA, Denver, to determine if he is in a position to institute action to restrain [ ] from continuing mailing harrassing communications to [ ].

-B\*-

COVER PAGE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - USA, Denver, Colorado  
1 - USA, Trenton, New Jersey

Report of: [REDACTED] Office: Denver, Colorado  
Date: March 29, 1972

Field Office File #: 9-1931 Bureau File #: 9-51593

Title: [REDACTED];  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM

Character: EXTORTION

Synopsis: Additional harrassing communications signed [REDACTED] addressed to [REDACTED], Colorado, postmarked in New Jersey, 1/27-28/72. FBI Laboratory in each instance identified handwriting as that of [REDACTED] [REDACTED] fingerprints identified on communication postmarked 1/27/72.

b6  
b7C

-P-

DETAILS:

On February 1, 1972, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
released to [REDACTED] a \$.15 aerogram bearing an United States Postal Service, New Jersey, postmark dated January 28, 1972. The communication is addressed in handwriting to the chief of police at [REDACTED], Colorado, who turned the communication over to [REDACTED]. The aerogram reads as follows:

" Chief of Police:

I have been informed of a secret plot by [REDACTED] of Colorado in [REDACTED].

"The plot involves a [REDACTED] of [REDACTED], N.J. He has received an indirect threat from two F.B.I. agents that [REDACTED] is going to have him bumped off. Please investigate, [REDACTED]

A handwritten return address on the back of the aerogram reads as follows:

[redacted] of Colorado  
on vacation [redacted]

[redacted] stated that it appeared to him that this communication was written by [redacted] of [redacted], New Jersey, who has previously directed similar letter to [redacted] in [redacted] Colorado, all of which were postmarked in the State of New Jersey.

On February 7, 1972, the original aerogram was forwarded to the FBI Laboratory for handwriting and fingerprint processing with a request that any latent fingerprints developed on the communication be compared with the known prints of [redacted], FBI Number [redacted].

On February 10, 1972, [redacted] released to SA [redacted] another \$.15 aerogram postmarked by United States Postal Service, New Jersey, January 27, 1972. This communication was addressed in handwriting to [redacted], Colorado, and also signed [redacted]. The handwritten message reads as follows:

"Dear [redacted], at the last meeting of the league of Revolutionary Black Niggers, you were sentenced to 100 lashes with the whip and to 200 years of hard labor in the coal mines of Siberia. Also, I have been informed by [redacted] that you threatened him with death via two FBI (goons) Agents. consequently, the FBI and [redacted], Colorado police will be informed accordingly. Sincerely, [redacted]"

On February 16, 1972, this communication was forwarded to the FBI Laboratory for handwriting and fingerprint examination with a request that any latent prints developed be compared with those of [redacted], FBI Number [redacted]

On February 24, 1972, the FBI Laboratory reported that handwriting appearing on the aerogram postmarked January 28, 1972, addressed to Chief of Police, [redacted], Colorado, is identical to handwriting of [redacted] who

DN 9-1931

has been identified by handwriting as the writer of numerous communications directed to [REDACTED] which have previously been submitted in this case.

On March 1, 1972, the Latent Fingerprint Section, Identification Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation, reported that no latent prints of value were developed on the aerogram postmarked January 28, 1972.

On March 13, 1972, the FBI Laboratory reported that it had been concluded that the handwriting appearing on the aerogram postmarked January 27, 1972, had been written by [REDACTED] who has been identified as the writer of previously submitted specimens in this case.

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On March 15, 1972, the Latent Fingerprint Section, Identification Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation, reported that two latent fingerprints were developed on the aerogram postmarked January 27, 1972, and that these latents were identified as the finger impressions of [REDACTED], FBI Number [REDACTED]



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535**

To: **SAC, Denver (9-1931)**

Date: **March 13, 1972**

Re: [redacted] aka;  
- **VICTIM;**  
**EXTORTION**  
**CO: Denver**

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover, Director

FBI File No.  
Lab. No.

**9-51593**  
**D-720222114 LW**

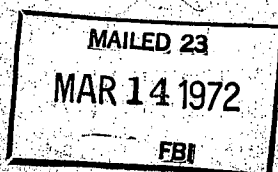
Examination requested by: **Denver**

Reference: **Airtel 2/16/72**

Examination requested: **Document - Fingerprint**

Remarks:

**Specimen Q22 will be returned with the results  
of the latent fingerprint examination.**



**Enclosures (2) (2 Lab report)**

**2 - Newark (9-2495) - Enclosures (2) (2 Lab report)**

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
FBI

**EX-117**

GRH:la1

(6)

586HJS

**REC-6**

**9-51**

**19 MAR**

**ENCLOSURE**

**ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE**

**He**

**TELETYPE UNIT**

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>DENVER</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>DENVER</b>	DATE <b>5/4/72</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>3/29/72 - 4/13/72</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px; display: inline-block;"></div> aka; <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px; display: inline-block;"></div> - VICTIM		REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px; display: inline-block;"></div>	TYPED BY <b>skc</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>EXTORTION</b>	

REFERENCES:

Report of SA  dated 3/29/72  
at Denver.  
Newark letter to Denver, 3/31/72.

b6  
b7cADMINISTRATIVE:

On 3/31/72, the Newark Division suggested that Denver contact USA, District of Colorado, for prosecutive opinion concerning any letters which might be received in the future in the Denver Division which originated from  prior to conducting investigation inasmuch as letters written to date, according to USA, Trenton, New Jersey, failed to contain any violation of the Extortion Statute.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			
								PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE:	①-Bureau (9-51593)(RM) 1-USA, Denver 3-Newark (9-2495)(RM) (1- USA, Newark) (1-AUSA, Trenton) 1-Denver (9-1931)	9-51593-17 10 MAY 8 1972	REC-66 EX-100

Dissemination Record of Attached Report					Notations
Agency					
Request Recd.					
Date Fwd.					
How Fwd.					
By	51 MAY 11 1972				REJECT STAND SECT.

DN 9-1931

Newark stated that [ ] was not being reinterviewed concerning these letters inasmuch as it appears each time he is interviewed he writes additional letters to [ ].

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Newark requested Denver to designate copy of closing report to the USA, Newark.

- B\* -  
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1-USA, Newark  
1-AUSA, Trenton  
1-USA, Denver

Report of: [REDACTED]  
Date: May 4, 1972

Office: DENVER

Field Office File #: 9-1931

Bureau File #: 9-51593

Title: [REDACTED];  
[REDACTED] - VICTIM

Character: EXTORTION

Synopsis:

AUSA FREDERICK W. KLEPP, Trenton, New Jersey, declined prosecution on grounds letters written by [REDACTED] and mailed in State of New Jersey in January, 1972, do not constitute violation of Extortion Statute.

- C -

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DETAILS:

On March 31, 1972, the Newark Division reported that on March 23, 1972, Assistant United States Attorney FREDERICK W. KLEPP, Trenton, New Jersey, was informed concerning letters written to the Chief of Police in [REDACTED] Colorado, postmarked in New Jersey, January 28, 1972, and signed [REDACTED] and of the letter postmarked in the State of New Jersey addressed to [REDACTED], [REDACTED] Colorado, and signed [REDACTED]. Mr. KLEPP stated that in his opinion the content of the letters in question do not constitute a violation of the Extortion Statute and for that reason he declined prosecution.

On April 13, 1972, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED], Colorado, informed SA [REDACTED] that no additional letters have been received by [REDACTED] similar to those written by [REDACTED] since January, 1972.

1\*

SUMMARIES OF PERTINENT INFORMATION  
ON INDIVIDUALS NAMED IN GENERAL  
TRUDEAU'S ALLEGATIONS RE FARRAN  
SOCIALIST INFILTRATION OF HIGH  
POLICY-MAKING AREAS OF UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-2-81 BY SP4 JRM/ML

# 206546- P 19, 20, 21 only  
# 244909 P 103, 104, 105 only

March 8, 1957

4/16/99 SC & ACM/ME  
# 347140 PS 71 only

4/1/96 SP4 BJA/MEV  
# 357953 P 11+  
4/30/96 SP4 BJA/MEV  
# 358698 P 1+  
244909

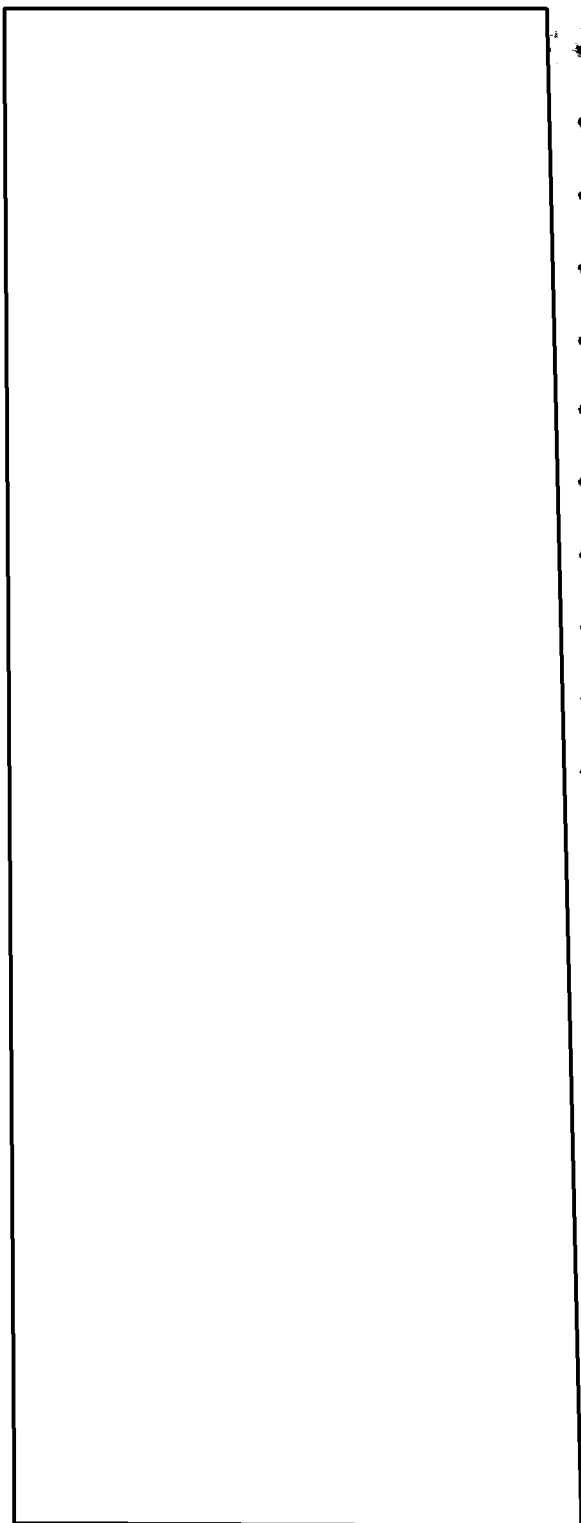
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## GEORGE FROST KENNAN

George Frost Kennan appears to be identical with the Kennan indicated in the material furnished by [ ] as "Architect of 'Containment Policy.' - Placed his adherents strategically in State and CIA. Continues to influence policy through meetings in Washington and Princeton. In CIA pay." (100-420468-1)

### Background

Kennan was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on February 16, 1904. He was graduated from Princeton University with an A. B. degree in 1925. Kennan entered the United States Consular Service in 1925, and later served in numerous American consulates and embassies throughout the world. In 1952 Kennan was named United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union. In October, 1952, Kennan was declared persona non grata by the Soviet Government and his recall was requested. Kennan retired from the State Department in July, 1953, and is currently associated with the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, New Jersey. (Who's Who in America 1956-57; 62-81548-20, NR 11-2-53)

### Unfavorable Information

The Daily Worker, 5-2-56, east coast daily communist newspaper, page 2, stated that in a speech reportedly delivered on April 30, 1956, Kennan called for leadership which would "dispell the fears and misunderstandings that cause so many Americans to applaud the shocking miscarriage of justice and fairness in the Congressional investigations and loyalty hearings. We need a leadership that is much less afraid of men like Jenner and McCarthy. What was happening in Washington in the heyday of McCarthy still burns in my memory."

James Reston, New York Times correspondent, in an article appearing in the May 7, 1956, issue of that paper, stated that according to George Kennan, former Ambassador to Russia, much of the difficulty of the United States came from fixed attitudes towards other countries, attitudes which were wrong and antithetical to long-term United States interests. Kennan believes, according to Reston, that the United States while recognizing its differences with the Russians should look upon recent changes in Soviet policy with the hope that future relationships can be established. Kennan reportedly feels that the United States should accept the satellite situation. Kennan reportedly feels that United States-China relations are less promising

because of the way China has insulted us, but that the United States should not try to obstruct Red China's admission into the United Nations if a majority of that group wants to admit Red China.

The Director made the following notation regarding the above article:  
"I am amazed at the way Kennan has fallen for the Soviet line. H."  
(62-81548-25)

#### Other Information

In an article in the April, 1951, issue of the Foreign Affairs and in a speech before the Pennsylvania State Bar Association in January, 1953, Kennan stated that United States policy should be one of firmness and "containment" of Russian expansion. Kennan stated that he was opposed to the aggressive policy of John Foster Dulles.

(62-81548-10, 22; 62-81548-A Washington News Service 1-10-53)

Kennan has generally maintained cordial relations with the Bureau and furnished helpful and pertinent material while he was with the State Department. (62-81548-10)

No investigation made of Kennan.

61-28153

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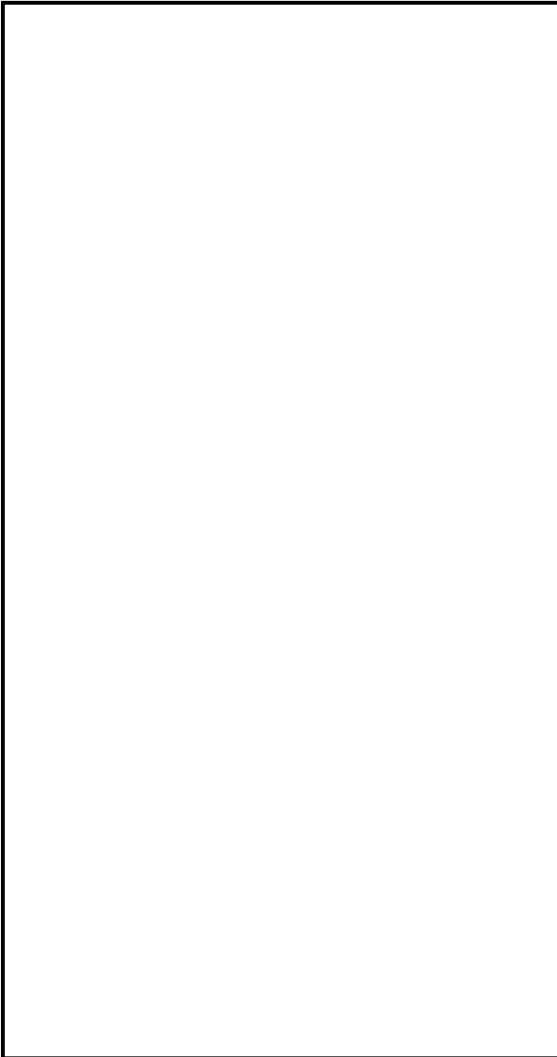
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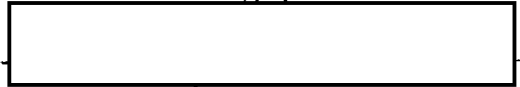
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American writer who  
kpt. in political  
prison in Siberia  
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Possibly, uncle of George P. Kennan

DESTROY

-110 p. 64

DESTROY

97-2660-69

DESTROY

100-3-81-7790

DESTROY

100-3-81-A-Daily Worker 9/20/47

DESTROY

100-2267-268

DESTROY

100-5403-351 p. 45

DESTROY

100-9261-48 p. 11, 12

DESTROY

100-17828-1089

DESTROY

-1198

DESTROY

100-64700-998 p. 1139

~~DESTROY~~

100-64700-1203 p. 925, 926

~~DESTROY~~

1

-1204 p. 973, 1050, 1052

1128, 1129

~~DESTROY~~

1

-1205 p. 1272, 1504, 1554

1556, 1557, 1560, 1561

1562, 1563, 1564, 1565

1577, 1583, 1585, 1587

1592, 1623

~~DESTROY~~

1

-1209 p. 2515

~~DESTROY~~

1

-1212 p. 3986, 2987

~~DESTROY~~

1

-1215 p. 4944, 5314

1

100-92526-921

see also 100-275683-355 (24)  
102-1-32-126 (30)  
Probably George Francis Kennan  
great uncle

(according to Encyclopedia - GEORGE KENNAN 1845-1924)  
writer - authority on Siberia

~~DESTROY~~

1

100-153262-554 p. 13

~~DESTROY~~

100-183386-534 p. 98, 104, 245  
246, 247, 338

~~DESTROY~~

100-207486-2

~~DESTROY~~

100-237027-13

~~DESTROY~~

NI 100-275683-355  
(see to Encyclopedia - GEORGE KENNAN 1845-1924, writer  
authority on Siberia)  
see also 100-92526-421 (28)  
102-1-32-126 (31)  
refers to George Kennan's  
volume on Siberia  
probably George H. Kennan  
gives and

NI 100-333625-82

~~DESTROY~~

100-341171-14

NI 100-345583-6

~~DESTROY~~

100-346268-962

~~DESTROY~~

100-1036

~~DESTROY~~

1/ 100-347256-1

~~DESTROY~~

1/ -3

~~DESTROY~~

1/ 100-348137-23 p. 172

~~DESTROY~~

1/ 100-350583-61 p. 8

1/ 100-359325-19

~~DESTROY~~

5/ 100-360333-9 to 105-26316-18 (31)

~~DESTROY~~

5/ -20 to 105-26316-18 (31)

~~DESTROY~~

1/ 100-361027-3

~~DESTROY~~

1/ 100-363697-4

~~DESTROY~~

3/ 100-365088-1286 to MF 62-81548 2nd  
serial filed above serial 201  
dated 1/15/52

~~DESTROY~~

1/ 100-427672-21

NR 102-1-32-126  
(see to Encyclopedia - unall (quest-uncler)  
see also 100-275683-355 (29)  
100-92526-921 (28) P2  
Probably George Foster Kennan's  
GEORGE KENNAN 1845-1924  
writer-authority on Siberia

DESTROY

105-11887-11 p#139

Do NOT Destroy

105-12189-1479

Kept in Div 4  
Special File Room

DESTROY

105-15519-5

DESTROY

I

-7

DESTROY

ST 105-19600-121 to MS 161-281-39 (p2)

DESTROY

105-26316-18

DESTROY

ST 105-31418-16 p#43 to MS 161-281-39 p3

Do NOT Destroy

105-43723-106

Kept in Div 4  
Special File Room

DESTROY

6105-49241-249 to 100-427672-21 (30)  
31



DESTROY

ST 105-49241-2596 100-427672-21 (30)

DESTROY

105-52368-19

Do Not Destroy

105-67845-33134

Kept in Div 4  
Special File Room

DESTROY

105-92156-7 - Evening Star 11/27/6

DESTROY

105-148615-26

DESTROY

105-177408-16

DESTROY

ST 109-12-232-690 ME 161-281-39 p 9

DESTROY

109-12-240-7 - Washington Post

DESTROY

2/11/47  
Copy not found  
109-237-A Wash Post news Service

DESTROY

110-6-234-258 1/12/62

DESTROY

ST 121-18528-242 do ME 161-281-39 ep 8

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 121-20552-31p#28

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 121-31758-X

~~DESTROY~~



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~~DESTROY~~

✓ 140-0-697

all Refs  
#Refs 1

Kennan, George F. ✓

DESTROY ✓

64-211-231-87 EP 207,

Sub.  
Analy.  
#refs: 33

Kennan, Dne /

NR 44-8562

NI 32-23584-284

NI -328

NI 62-17909-472

NI 62-58854-99

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 62-62650-3 to MG 161-281-39 up 2

Sumo 4/20/67

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 62-80750-859

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 64-200-205-939

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 64-200-306-25

✓ 65-1635-13

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 65-4308-66

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 65-30092-2745 log

Do NOT Destroy

✓ 65-41833-267

Kept in Div 4  
Special File Room

Do NOT Destroy

- 745

Kept in Div 4  
Special File Room

Do NOT Destroy

- 901

Kept in Div 4  
Special File Room

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 65- 56402- 2985<sup>#</sup> 19, 62 Log

~~Do NOT Destroy~~ ✓ 65- 58068- 2184 Kept in Div 5  
Domestic Intelligence Div

~~Do NOT Destroy~~ ✓ - 2196 Kept in Div 5  
Domestic Intelligence Div

NI 71- 875- 15

~~NI~~ 94- 1- 3047- 43 / 4/1/37 "Called Director  
Office from Capitol  
WDC

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 100- 72924- 860

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 100- 295935- 15

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 100- 299061- 158

NI 100- 333625- 70

NI

- 147<sup>#</sup> 3

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 100- 350583- 23

✓ NY 100-359325-57

✓ NY 100-412127-8 p. 2

✓ NY 105-40977-X p. 7

✓ NY 105-74840-24

✓ DESTROY

✓ 109-12-240-22

✓ DESTROY

✓ 109-237-93

✓ DESTROY

✓ 110-6-249-11

all Refs  
#Refs 1



b6  
b7C

109-237-A <sup>Wash. Capital News Service</sup>  
1/12/62  
→ trans to p. (32) of SS  
none in file George Kennan  
(corrected by Cons.)



all Refs.  
#Refs 1

Kennan, George J.

61-1292-467

~~DESTROY~~

all Refs  
#refs 1

Kennon, George F. ✓

✓  
DESTROY

✓ 62-88217-1613 EP. 1681; 16 MF 111-281-5

42

all Refs  
#refs 1

Kennon, George Frost ✓

✓  
DESTROY

✓ 65-52604-5

41

Analy  
#Refs 7

Kennon, George ✓

Do Not Destroy Personnel Out of Service Kept in  
Personnel Records Div 4.

MP 62-81548

DESTROY ✓

✓ 61-16-13062

DESTROY ✓

✓ 94-8-350-546

DESTROY ✓

SI 100-3-86-1353 65-62388-4  
(26)

DESTROY ✓

✓ 100-17828-998

DESTROY ✓

✓ -1023

all Refs  
#Refs 1

Kenna, George F.

65-28939-791

→ (trans to p. (6) of search slip)

name in file GEORGE F. KENNAN

(cd correct cons. 4/60/71)

all Refs  
#Refs 1

Kenan, George ✓

1/100 - 360059-25

✓  
DESTROY

Sub.

Analy.

# refs: 22



b6  
b7C

80-98 sub 581

7-2579-1

25-127659-3

46-32175-4

47-14442-26

62-0-62737

62-26225-35-1 doc 6/15/55  
(cd corrected at 5/1/55) to newspaper on date  
New York Herald Tribune 5/1/55

~~DESTROY~~

✓  
✓ 62-31615-715 ✓

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 65-57411-713 p# 45 ✓

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 66-1631-10-461 Destroyed per authority  
contained in 66-3286-725

✓ 91-469-93

✓ 91-4404-68

NR 91-4776-43 p# 1, 18, 19, 20

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 94-1-2114-41 ✓

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 100-3-3290 ✓

✓ 100-3-74-690 p# 4

✓ 100-17828-998

✓ 100-26912-1822

~~DESTROY~~

✓ SI 100-39588-18 ✓ 65-53718-A "New Zealand"  
3/19/49 (25)

✓ 100-145168-4 ✓

✓  
DESTROY

✓ 54 121-23230-2 sp<sup>4</sup> 3

121-23230-3X30  
(47) part

✓  
DESTROY

✓

- 3 X 30



Sub  
all info  
# refs: ✓

KEENAN, GEORGE ✓

~~DESTROY~~ ✓

✓ 77-60282-33

~~DESTROY~~ ✓

✓ 100-3-3290 p. 25

~~DESTROY~~ ✓

✓ 100-432810-2

DoI NoT Destroy ✓ 105-12189-1978

Kept in Div 4  
Special File Room

all info  
# refs: ✓

KEENAN, GEORGE FROST ✓

~~DESTROY~~ ✓

✓ 164-20026-2153

ANALYTICAL  
# REFS. 105



b6  
b7C

NY 5-10472

NY 87-94563

NY 100-428801 (FOR YOUR INFO.)

NY 26-7536-2

NY 26-108783-2

NY 16

NY 23

NY 24

NY 27

NY 29

NY 26-416672-1

NR 44-840-6 N.Y. Times 8/3/43

NY 52-35763-1

NR 61-167-157

NR 61-7550-2302

NR 61-8381-396

NR 61-10149-A Daily Worker 6/23/49

NR 61-10149-A Daily Worker 6/24/49

NR 61-10355-296

NR 308

NR 309

NY ~~65~~ 2-21497-36 Ref sh be 65-21497-36  
Corrected Cons. 3/23/71.

NR 62-71788-A Daily Worker 2/16/48

✓ 62-75147-10-5

✓ 62-75147-44-541 Encl. p. 29

✓  
(Leave to Cons. to have 1 also destroyed) (4/21/74) 567 Encl. p. 2, 14, 16 (2 cards)

✓ 576 Encl. p. 68

✓ 590 Encl. p. 69

✓ 593 Encl. p. 63

✓ 62-75147-47-9

✓ 56 p. 4

✓ 70 Ep. 300

✓ 74

✓ 88 Encl. p. 168

✓ 88 Encl. p. 171 } 3 cards

✓ 88 Encl. p. 261 } 51

✓ 62-75147-47-96 Encl. p. 177

✓ 158 Encl. p. 255

✓ 64-2701-109

✓ 117

✓ 118

DESTROY

I 65-30092-1444 nos

DESTROY

I 65-31872-35

✓ 65-32580-8

✓ 66-8720-34-71

✓ 71-5255-5

✓ 76-502-4

✓ 88-16082-16

✓ 91-1006-10

all Refs  
#Refs 1

Kennan, George F. ✓

64-211-231-87 EP 207,

DESTROY ✓

Sub.  
Analy.  
#refs: 33

Kennan, Dne /

NR 44-8562

NI 32-23584-284

NI -328

NI 62-17909-472

NI 62-58854-99

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 62-62650-3 to HQ 161-281-39 up 2

~~Sum 1/20/61~~

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 62-80750-859

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 64-200-205-939

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 64-200-306-75

✓ 65-1635-13

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 65-4308-66

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 65-30092-2745 HQ

Do NOT Destroy

✓ 65-41833-267

Kept in Div 4  
Special File Room

Do NOT Destroy

- 745

Kept in Div 4  
Special File Room

Do NOT Destroy

- 901

Kept in Div 4  
Special File Room



~~DESTROY~~

✓ 65- 56402- 2985<sup>#</sup> 19, 62 Log

~~Do Not Destroy~~ ✓ 65- 58068- 2184 Kept in Div 5  
Domestic Intelligence Div

~~Do Not Destroy~~ ✓ - 2196 Kept in Div 5  
Domestic Intelligence Div

NI 71- 875- 15

~~NI~~ 94- 1- 3047- 43 / 4/1/37 Called Director  
Office from Capitol  
WDC

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 100- 72924- 860

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 100- 295935- 15

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 100- 299061- 158

NI 100- 333625- 70

NI

- 147<sup>#</sup> 3

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 100- 350583- 23

✓ NY 100-359325-57

✓ NY 100-412127-8 p. 2

✓ NY 105-40977-X p. 7

✓ NY 105-74840-24

✓ DESTROY

✓ 109-12-240-22

✓ DESTROY

✓ 109-237-93

✓ DESTROY

✓ 110-6-249-11

All Refs  
#Refs 1

Kennah, George

109-237-A <sup>wash. Capital News Service</sup>  
1/12/62  
→ trans to p. (32) of SS  
none in file George Kennard  
(Corrected by Cons.)

all Refs.  
#Refs 1

Kennan, George J.

4 61-1292-467

~~DESTROY~~

all Refs  
#Refs 1

Kennon, George F. ✓

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 62-88217-1613 EP. 1681; ME 101-281-5

42

all Refs  
#Refs 1

Kennon, George Frost ✓

~~DESTROY~~

✓ 65-52604-5

41

Analy  
#Refs 7

Kennon, George ✓

Do Not Destroy Personnel Out of Service Kept in  
Personnel Records Div. 4.

MP 62-81548

DESTROY ✓

✓ 61-16-13062

DESTROY ✓

✓ 94-8-350-546

DESTROY ✓

SI 100-3-86-1353 65-62388-4  
(26)

DESTROY ✓

✓ 100-17828-998

DESTROY ✓

✓ -1023

all Refs  
#Refs 1

~~Kenna, George F.~~

← ~~65-28939-791~~

→ (trans to p. (6) of search slip)

name in file GEORGE F. KENNAN

(cd correct cons. 4/20/71)

all Refs  
#Refs 1

Kenan, George ✓

1/100 - 360059-25

✓  
DESTROY



✓ 91-1761-68

✓ 92-2751-35

✓ 92-4402-19 p. 4

✓ 94-2-38459

NR 98-21329-1

NR 100-0-23276

✓ 100-3-4-4509

NR 2886

NR 3024

NR 3027

✓ 5970 p. 16

NR 100-3-75-A Daily Worker 5/26/48

NR 100-135-90

NR 100-135-34-209

NR 243

NR 484

NR 100-6611-67

NR 100-7660-2633

NR 3503

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-20461-22

I 100-38716-5

~~DESTROY~~

I 100-41433-28 p.32

NR 100-51230-24X2

NR 100-57917-6

NR 100-95014-5

NR

6

NR 100-109061-2

NR 4X

NR 5

NR 8

NR 63

NR 100-115471-2X

NR 100-116363-24 p.2

NR 100-149163-28

NR 170 Encl. part. 14 p. 700

NR 100-149163-A Daily Worker 9/24/43

NR 100-149163-A The Worker 9/26/43

NR 100-149163-A Daily Worker 10/18/43

NR 100-149163-A Daily Worker 10/19/43

NR 100-149163-A Daily Worker 10/22/43

NR 100-149163-A Daily Worker 11/11/43

NR 100-151546-1

NR 100-242061-1

NR 100-305142-2

NR 100-350419-1

NR 100-350627-3

NR 100-360625-A New Leader 1/29/49

NR 100-360625-2

NR 100-418219-4 Encl p. 282, 287

NR 100-420023-1

NR 105-57709-40

NR 105-72815-6

DESTROY

~~DESTROY~~

T 105-72815-10

NR 121-15525-5

NR 121-35882-11

NR 165-2549-9

All References  
# Ref 3

Kennan, George ✓

✓  
DECEMBER

I 65-56402-2294 p 43 -log

✓  
DECEMBER

I 65-56402-1-1110 - log

✓  
DECEMBER

I 100-376016-3 p 13 -log

✓  
KEENAN, ONE

✓  
DESTROY

↓ 65-56402 - 2985 p. 19, 62

Log  
cards made by  4/8/71

Approximately 96 references  
not searched

ALL LOGICAL BUILDUPS BREAKDOWNS AND VARIATIONS OF  
NAME AND ALIAS WERE SEARCHED AND NO RECORD WAS  
FOUND EXCEPT THOSE LISTED

#4  
45



Kennan, George Frost

SUMMARY  
(Correlation)

AKA:

BIRTHDATE: 2/16/04

BIRTHPLACE: Milwaukee Wisconsin

SPOUSE: [REDACTED]

LOCALITY:

SEARCHED ON: 4/14/70

b6  
161-28 b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1255592-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 27  
Page 87 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 88 ~ Referral/Direct;  
Page 125 ~ Referral/Consult;  
Page 126 ~ Referral/Consult;  
Page 127 ~ Referral/Consult;  
Page 128 ~ Referral/Consult;  
Page 129 ~ Referral/Consult;  
Page 130 ~ Referral/Consult;  
Page 131 ~ Referral/Consult;  
Page 132 ~ Referral/Consult;  
Page 133 ~ Referral/Consult;  
Page 134 ~ Referral/Consult;  
Page 135 ~ Referral/Consult;  
Page 197 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 198 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 199 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 200 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 202 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 203 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 204 ~ Duplicate;  
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Page 206 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 207 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 217 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 218 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 219 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 220 ~ Duplicate;

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**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**  
510 South Spring Street, Room 900  
Los Angeles, 13, California  
July 22, 1946

CONFIDENTIAL

Director, FBI

Re: GEORGE KENNAN  
Information Concerning

Dear Sir: CONF. INFT.

[ ] has called the attention of the Los Angeles Bureau Office to a letter, the substance of which was given to informant to ascertain whether or not KENNAN had a record of any un-American activity. [ ] had some record of a party by this name and the party is believed to be identical with GEORGE KENNAN. The letter which was given to Informant is as follows:

"July 3rd, 1946

"Mr. Louis J. Canepa, President,  
Jonathan Club,  
315 W. 9th St., Los Angeles.

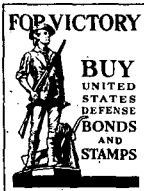
My dear Mr. Canepa:

"In accordance with Miss REMINGER's telephone conversation, I wish to transmit further details regarding the availability of Mr. GEORGE KENNAN for a speaking engagement with the Jonathan Club, on August 8th or 9th.

"It is our understanding you would be interested in arranging an off the record meeting for a group of not more than fifty persons, at which Mr. KENNAN would give a brief informal talk to be followed by a question and discussion period.

"As you will note by the enclosed biographical sketch, Mr. KENNAN has had wide experience in the field of the Soviet Union and is therefore eminently qualified to discuss this subject. I might add he is regarded as one of the most able and brilliant officers in the career service.

"According to present plans he will be in Los Angeles August 8th or 9th. As his plans materialize, they may bring him to Los Angeles a day or so earlier. In the event that both of the above mentioned dates prove inconvenient for you, it may be possible to change to August 7th. Please let us know if there is any further information regarding Mr. KENNAN you might find helpful. We will of course be interested in whatever plans you might develop.



"Sincerely,  
Mr. R. T. CARTER  
PUBLIC LIASON  
U. S. STATE DEPARTMENT  
WASHINGTON, D. C. "

EX-2

SE 11 62-81548-1

live O L.A.  
8/14/46  
JHE

gpo

b7D



Director

July 22, 1946

Re: GEORGE KENNAN  
Information Concerning

Informant furnished the Los Angeles Bureau Office the following information about a Mr. KENNAN, who is believed to be the party mentioned in the letter:

"PEOPLE'S WORLD", March 13, 1945, page 2, column 3: "U.S. EDITORS MEET IN MOSCOW - MOSCOW, March 12 (UP)—SALOMON A. LOZOVSKY, vice commissar of Foreign Affairs, toasted Allied armies and press today at a round table discussion between Soviet editors and press freedom delegation of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

"The four-hour conference was held at the residence of W. AVERILL HARRIMAN, U.S. Ambassador to Russia. The ASNE delegation consists of Dean CARL ACKERMAN of Columbia University, WILBUR FORREST of the New York Herald Tribune, and RALPH MCGILL of the Atlanta Constitution.

"Others present at the conference, which centered on mutual news policy and problems, were GEORGE KENNAN, American charge d'affaires; ELLERIDGE DURBROW, chief of the U.S. State Department, southeastern section, and JOSEPH PHILLIPS, chief of OWI in Moscow.

"Those representing the Soviet press included the manager of Tass News Agency and Moscow editors of Pravda, Izvestia, Red Star, Trud, Komsomalskaya Pravda."

"PEOPLE'S WORLD", December 6, 1944, page 2, column 5: "HONORS FOR DE GAULLE (by the World Foreign Department) - Honors, at a formal reception in Spiridonovka Palace in Moscow were given President CHARLES DE GAULLE of the French Provisional Government by Foreign Commissar MOLOTOV of the Soviet Union and was still the sensation of diplomatic and foreign language circles the next day, yesterday.

"Practically everybody was there, drinking toasts to France and Russia, the victory in the war and the security of the peace. Prominent were the American Charge d'Affaires, GEORGE F. KENNAN, the British Minister JOHN BALFOUR, and STEFAN JEDRACHOWSKI, diplomatic agent of the Polish Committee of National Liberation, which maintains a de facto government of Poland at Lublin. Naturally, there was no representative of the Polish Government in Exile in London. All French speaking people in Moscow attended."

Informant also furnished the Los Angeles Bureau Office the following information concerning a Lieutenant KENNAN, executive officer of the U.S.N.R. However, it is not believed that this individual is identical with the GEORGE KENNAN mentioned in the letter set-out above, as it appears that Lieutenant KENNAN, as of January 26, 1943 was an "Executive officer of the U.S.N.R.", whereas Mr. GEORGE KENNAN is spoken of in the letter as one of the most able and brilliant officers in the "career service", and according to the articles set-out above, was Charge d'Affaires of the United States Embassy in Moscow as of December 6, 1944 and March 13, 1945. The following is the information furnished concerning Lieutenant KENNAN:

Director

July 22, 1946

Re: GEORGE KENNAN  
Information Concerning

YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE "WEEKLY REVIEW", 35 East 12th Street, NYC, Jan. 26, 1943, page 9: Article "VOLUMES OF LOVE...BOOKS FOR OUR FIGHTING BOYS" by ALBERTA WEBER, is followed with excerpts from a speech made by Lieut. KENNAN, executive officer of the U.S.N.R., at the recent Institute on Books in Wartime held by the University of Minnesota, in which it makes "a little sampling of what some of the Navy lads are reading and why". This well written article concludes "with the belief that they represent (men in the armed forces) a cross section of the American public, and that their reading habits are akin to those of the civilians with almost mathematical certainty. All of us are seeking earnestly to know more and to understand better this changing, challenging world in which we fight to live."

This information is being brought to the Bureau's attention in order that some check may be made to ascertain the real position and standing of this individual, Mr. GEORGE KENNAN, and in order that the Bureau may advise the Los Angeles Field Office if it is the desire of the Bureau that this meeting be covered to ascertain the nature of the lecture which will be given by Mr. KENNAN on or about August 8th or 9th, 1946.

Very truly yours,

  
R. B. HOOD,  
Special Agent in Charge

JGF:glb

AIRMAIL

~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL~~

SAC, Los Angeles

August 11, 1946

Director, FBI

GEORGE FROST KENNAN  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Reference is made to your letter dated July 22, 1946, entitled, "George Kennan, Information Concerning," in which you advised that an individual by the name of George Kennan was to address the Jonathan Club in Los Angeles on the subject of the Soviet Union. From referenced letter it was indicated that Kennan was recommended by the State Department as a person eminently qualified to discuss the subject and would probably be in Los Angeles on August 8 or 9.

For your information, George Frost Kennan has held many positions in the foreign service of the State Department and numerous references to him at foreign posts are contained in the Bureau's files. One of his recent assignments was that of Charge d'Affaires of the American Embassy in Moscow. Confidentially, Kennan is considered a foremost authority on Russian affairs and his recent assignment to Moscow furnished considerable basis for our present foreign policy.

JDD:WMJ

RECORDED 62-81548

EX - 48

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 BJA/DPW  
ON 7-14-99  
6410933

AUG 14 4 59 PM '46

AUG 15 1946 P.M.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

55 AUG 21 1946



**Federal Bureau of Investigation**

**United States Department of Justice**

510 South Spring Street, Room 900  
Los Angeles 13, California  
August 12, 1946

*1010*  
DIRECTOR, FBI

Re: GEORGE KENNON  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

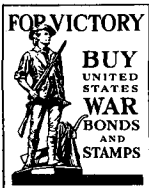
Dear Sir:

Reference is made to my letter to the Bureau dated July 22, 1946<sup>W</sup> entitled "GEORGE KENNAN, Information Concerning." I wish to advise that the informant had a misspelling of the name and it should be as captioned in this letter.

As a member of the Jonathan Club in Los Angeles, I received an invitation dated August 2, 1946 to attend a luncheon on August 8, 1946, which was to be addressed by Mr. GEORGE KENNON of the Public Liaison Division of the Department of State. The invitation described him as recently returning from Moscow where he served as Minister-Counselor of the Embassy and Charge d'Affaires after Mr. HARRIMAN's departure. He states that he went to Moscow as third secretary in 1933; that in 1935 he served in Prague, Berlin and Lisbon. He then returned to Moscow in 1944 as Counselor of the Embassy. This meeting was sponsored by the Army-Navy Club of the Jonathan Club. In view of other commitments which I had, I assigned Assistant Special Agent in Charge JAMES C. ELLSWORTH and Special Agent JAMES G. FINDLAY of this office to attend this luncheon.

A surprise guest at the luncheon was Ambassador EDWIN PAULEY. Mr. PAULEY introduced Mr. KENNON, describing him as being the most able career man that he had met in the State Department. He said he worked with Mr. KENNON during his assignment to Moscow.

Mr. KENNON opened his remarks by stating that upon his return to the United States this year he was requested by the Department to appear before various groups in the east and then was assigned to come to the west coast to talk to select groups off the record and yet in such a manner as to let these groups know what the problem actually is with Russia. He also said that he had two appearances scheduled in two midwestern cities, which he did not name. The theme of his talk appeared to be the United States policy towards Russia. He said that it was absolutely necessary to know the Russian people in order to understand their way of doing business. He pointed to the history of Russia and to the fact that for hundreds of years



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she has been surrounded by peoples who were very difficult to deal with and that the Russian people naturally developed the tendency to bargain for everything. He said they are much like an American businessman in that a businessman will take all that he can get without taking too many risks. The Russians do not really expect to get everything they ask for but they continue to drive a hard bargain, hoping to get as much as they possibly can. They also use very rough tactics with no holds barred. They say nasty things during a period of bargaining but yet when it is all over they smile and respect their rivals who have stood up to them and shown real strength; however, they have no respect whatever for any signs of weakness. He said that in the bargaining process it did not matter what kind of remarks were made against an individual or the government official involved as long as no reflections were cast on the Soviet Union; that the Russian public considered their republic as sacred and will not stand for reflections being made against it. However, they forget any remarks made during a bargaining process against an individual representative.

Mr. KENNON said that he personally does not believe in making concessions to the Russians. He said that their tactics have to be used in dealing with them. For example, they will stand on a border and exert pressure against you for months and years until you finally decide to concede five hundred miles of territory to them, hoping that they will be satisfied; however, they are never satisfied and immediately you will find them on the new border pressing you.

Mr. KENNON added that no Soviet official dares to give away something for nothing. He is expected by his government to drive a hard bargain for everything. If he can show his government that he has got any advantage in the bargain, he is considered successful. To illustrate the difficulty of dealing with the Russians, Mr. KENNON cited the example early in the war of one of our ships colliding with another ship in the North Sea and being able to stay afloat only by means of continually using her pumps. She finally reached Murmansk and tried to get into a dry dock for repairs; however, the Russians would do nothing about giving her a dock. There were requests after requests made and nothing was done. The ship continually ran her pumps to stay afloat, ran out of fuel and food but still nothing would be done. After about three months, a foreign officer telephoned Mr. KENNON that they had five hundred seamen in Vladivostok ready to leave for the United States to take over a number of barges and small craft which we were giving to Russia. However, each of these men



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did not have a visa and could not leave. The foreign officer wanted an exception to the rule made and a group visa granted so these men could all leave and pick up the boats, otherwise they would all have to travel five thousand miles, requiring ten days on the train, back to Moscow to individually get a visa. Mr. KENNON said that here was his opportunity to bargain so for several days he put off the foreign officer on the grounds that it is unusual procedure and difficult to do. After several days he mentioned in an aside that it was difficult to grant this request in view of the attitude of the Russians toward the ship at Murmansk. The next day the foreign officer said that he was sure that he could do something about the ship at Murmansk if something could be done about the visa for the crew; whereupon, Mr. KENNON said that he was sure if something could be done about the ship he could arrange for the visa. This settled the problem. He said that this is typical of the problems confronting American officials in Russia in attempting to get something done.

Mr. KENNON said that the government in Washington is now working out a policy and program which should prove helpful in future dealings with Russia. He felt that all dealings should be based on the following points:

1. We must recognize the Russian people as they are, as being different from the rest of us and not as if they were like Americans. They must be handled according to their peculiarities and background.
2. We must maintain sufficient force to be able to back up what we say. He said he did not mean merely armed forces but also economic forces and psychological forces.
  - a. As a corollary to number two, we must be willing to use that force when it is needed and let Russia know that we intend to use it.
  - b. However, in maintaining this force, we must try not to close the door to future dealings but try to leave an opening which will not be harmful to America but which will permit the Russians to continue peaceful negotiations without losing face.

Elaborating on 2-b above, he stated that the Russian officials

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are arrogant and very difficult to deal with. He indicated that the Communist Party in Russia is absolutely dominant of the government. On the other hand, he has found that the average Russian national has respect for America. He said that he was in Russia from 1931 to 1933 and then from 1935 to 1937 and then after seven years he went back in 1944. During this seven year lapse of time he noticed a very decided change in the general attitude of the Russian people. He said in the first two tours of duty he noted an absolute observance to the Communist Party. The people appeared to be reconciled to it and the young people grew up indoctrinated with it and there seemed to be some enthusiasm for the party's work. In 1944, he noticed a lack of enthusiasm. As an example, he said that on V-E Day when Russia announced the defeat of Germany a crowd of two thousand people assembled outside the American Embassy in Moscow and for ten hours stayed and cheered America. Whenever an American was sighted by them they raised him to their shoulders, passed him along over the heads of various groups, indicating their enthusiastic feeling towards Americans. A party agitator was sent to break up the meeting. He tried to get the people to give three cheers for America and disperse but each time he mounted a wall he was pushed off and they were unable to break up the crowd.

He said that now when the call goes out for a demonstration of two hundred fifty thousand people with flags in the Red Square, two hundred fifty thousand people show up with their flags, march and do as they are told but one gets the feeling that there is no spirit back of it. On the other hand, if the old Russian church, which is barely hanging on, lets it be known through gossip that there will be a meeting, throngs of people crowd into and around the church, their faces lighted up and an obvious desire present to have this organ function.

Following his talk, he permitted questions to be asked and for approximately one hour he answered any questions that came to him from the floor. It is interesting to note that approximately two hundred fifty of the city's leading business and government officials as well as high ranking Army and Navy officers were present.

One of the questions asked was what had become of MARSHALL ZHUKOV. He stated that an Army officer in Russia has no political status and that the Soviet Regime has seen to it that these leaders of the Army have been relegated to outlying cities and posts where they can exert no important influence on political matters.

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He was asked whether he thought there would ever be a free exchange of information by the Soviet press and the American press. He said that there is some slight trend in that direction although the press in Russia is completely dominated by the government. He said that the State Department had gotten together a magazine giving factual information about America and had been permitted to disseminate twenty thousand of these magazines in Russia. However, they had originally been sent to the government and he was disappointed to note that very few of them were in the hands of the people that he ever had contact with. He said he had asked officials in some of the cities in Eastern Russia where he visited if they had seen the magazine and they had not. The Embassy then took the liberty of mailing directly to officials copies of these magazines and he knew that these were extensively read.

He was asked about the Comintern. He said that Russia did a very smart thing in "decentralizing" the Comintern. He said that for years democratic governments had questioned the Russian government as to why she permitted an organization to exist in her territory which advocated the overthrow of other governments. Finally during the early part of the war it became very embarrassing to the Russian government to have her allies asking these questions and so she decided to do away with three words in the question, namely "in her territory." He said that Russia thereupon decentralized the Comintern and it functioned from Paris, Mexico City, Yenan, etc. He said there is no doubt in his mind that the Comintern simply went underground as it is too obvious when policy laid down in Moscow appears in the parties in these foreign countries within twenty-four to forty-eight hours after the policy is made.

He was asked whether he thought branches of the Comintern or Communist parties in other countries voluntarily followed the party line from Moscow. He said that he did not know but undoubtedly much of it was voluntary and that Moscow was undoubtedly glad to have the parties come "to heel" without any pressure being applied.

He was asked whether the Soviet government recognized or supported the Communist Party in the United States. In answer he said that the State Department used to ask officials in Moscow why they supported and encouraged the Communist Party in the United States. The reply always was, "Have we ever complained when any country took action against any Communist Party? If you have no way of eliminating objectionable parties in your

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country, do not come crying to us."

He was asked whether there was anything to the charges appearing in the press occasionally that the British and American governments are ganging up on Russia. He said there is nothing to these charges. He said that it is quite natural that with the common background that they have, the British and American governments are working toward a common goal and issue similar instructions. He said that in the Embassy in Moscow frequently it would happen that the British minister and the American minister would receive similar instructions as to what they should tell the Soviet government and in order to avoid charges that the British and Americans were conspiring against them, they would work out a deal that either one or the other would handle the matter, or otherwise arrange it so Russia could take no offense.

He was asked as to what the attitude of the returning Russian serviceman is. He said that he feels that eventually these men may cause a new policy to come about in Russia with respect to other nations. He said that these men have seen things in other countries that no propaganda can take away from them. He feels that the Russian government knows this. He said that any member of the armed forces, who is a party member, is placed in a school called a reindoctrination school but which in reality is a decontamination school for a period of three months as they know that a party member will exert much more influence than a common citizen. A common soldier is given one month in this school. After the soldier leaves this school he is watched and if he is observed to be a leader in his community and is not a party member he is immediately invited to join the party which he cannot very well turn down. He said these veterans are not exactly like American veterans in that they do not immediately speak their minds. He has the impression that the Russian veterans will gradually work their way up in the Communist Party in Russia until they hold key positions which will enable them to purge the party and bring about a change in policy.

He was asked by one businessman whether it would be wise to accept a large order from the Russian government for merchandise on a ten day credit basis. He said that he would not hesitate to accept such an order. He said that Russia has been very meticulous in maintaining her credit with businessmen. He said that he would not want, however, to give the impression that Russia would always be honest financially. He said there is no private business in Russia and everything is done by the government and the govern-

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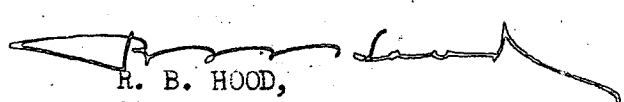
Re: GEORGE KENNON  
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ment knows that it can only go bankrupt once. He feels that if Russia could get billions and billions of dollars in loans from other countries she might decide that it would be to her advantage to decline to repay and her bargaining instincts might cause her to renounce such a large indebtedness.

Mr. KENNON said that at the present time there are six million members of the Communist Party in Russia and there are eleven to twelve million in the young Communist movement. He said that during the war Russia lost approximately twenty million young men and that their labor situation is very bad at the present time. He said that if it had not been for the women, who are strong physically and willing, during the war Russia could never have carried out her commitments as they had done the work of the men. He said that Russia is in a very weak position at the present time. He said that her main difficulty in trying to wage another war would be transportation as she has no system of roads and he doubts that an automobile could travel from Leningrad, a city of three million people, to Moscow, a city of seven million people, a distance of about four hundred miles. He said that to his knowledge there are only five paved highways of any great length in the entire Soviet Union. He said that he traveled two days on the train into West Siberia and in the entire time, looking out of the train, saw only two automobiles. As to compulsory labor camps, he said that he doubted some reports that there were as many as ten million persons under compulsory labor in Russia at present but that he would not be surprised if there were one to five million persons.

In conclusion Mr. KENNON stated that he feels that the United States policy must be to first decide what is best for the United States and then to vigorously pursue the policies, backing them up with a show of force if necessary. He said that he has now been assigned to the National War College as Director of Foreign Political Training. He said the college is made up of one hundred men each year, ten to come from the State Department and ninety from the four armed services. He said it is the hope of the government now to have unified thinking on the part of the government agencies in respect to its foreign policy in order to advance more forcefully in foreign countries during a war or during a period of occupation.

Very truly yours,

  
R. B. HOOD,  
SAC

JCE:LRK  
62-0-16411B  
cc - 100-1763

The Director

October 23, 1946

Mr. Ladd

**SOVIET ACTIVITIES**

George F. Kennan, Department of State  
**INTERNAL SECURITY - R**

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and is not on record. When  
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1-27-47 G.F.S.

On the afternoon of October 16, 1946, Mr. George F. Kennan of the Department of State, presently a lecturer at the Army War College and formerly Charge d'Affaires of the American Embassy in Moscow, Russia, who is considered the foremost State Department authority on the Soviet Union, discussed with me and with other representatives of the Security Division for approximately one and one-half hours various phases of present Soviet operations and related matters.

For your information and for record purposes there is set out below a summary of the remarks made by Mr. Kennan at this time concerning the Soviet Union and related problems.

With regard to present conditions in the Soviet Union, Mr. Kennan stated that the economy, as well as the political structure of the Soviet Union, at the present time is somewhat strained as a result of the last war although the Stalin regime is still firmly entrenched in power and there is no immediate prospect of any organized effective opposition to that regime. Obviously in a completely totalitarian police state such as the Soviet Union, Kennan stated, no effective revolt from below is possible except under most unusual conditions, such as chaos following a lost war or armed outside intervention.

The personnel of the Red Army which has returned from other sections of Europe, according to Mr. Kennan, has become highly cynical and completely disillusioned as a result of their contact with Western European civilization and relative economic plenty. However, in view of segregation, incarceration, and forced immigration to other parts of the Soviet Union than their original homes Red Army personnel is being closely supervised and is unable to offer any effective opposition. At the present time in the Soviet Union, economic conditions, and particularly agricultural conditions, are strained. Kennan stated that considerable cynicism has resulted from the failure of the Soviet regime to produce any of the much needed consumer goods so glibly promised the Soviet people during World War II. Particularly acute is the present situation in Soviet agriculture where, according to Kennan, the collectivization program has obviously failed. Kennan expressed the opinion that the Soviet leaders will experience considerable difficulty in extricating themselves from the collectivization dilemma and that the recent purge among agricultural and collective farm leaders which has been announced in the Soviet press is undoubtedly a by-product of this agricultural failure. Kennan stated that the Soviet people, particularly since the war, appear to clearly realize that instead of producing the consumer goods so necessary to their welfare, the entire Soviet economy is mobilized for war production and they seem to realize also that they are being intensely propagandized by the Soviet leaders. According to Kennan this propaganda is generally disbelieved.

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Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

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## Memo to the Director

Kennan pointed out that whereas in the early years of the Soviet regime the appeals of the All Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) were met with considerable emotional reaction among the people, at the present time the reactions of the Soviet people to Party ideological cliches and Party instructions are purely formal and without any emotional impetus whatever. Kennan illustrates this by stating that if the Party leaders call a demonstration for ten thousand people at a particular point in Moscow, the ten thousand people will show up and will applaud at the proper points in view of their fear of the NKVD apparatus but the demonstrations obviously lack any emotional depth or vigor and the attendance of the people is forced and involuntary.

In contrast, according to Kennan, if one of the few churches still permitted to operate, lets it be known by word of mouth that there will be a church festival or meeting thousands of people frequently pack the area surrounding the church obviously emotionally stirred by the appeal of the church.

Kennan stated that he is firmly convinced that at the present time top leaders of the Soviet Union do not desire a war with the West, and particularly with the United States, in view of the ravages of World War II, their present economic and morale situation, and particularly their doubts as to the present successful conclusion of any such war. Kennan stated, however, that despite this the Soviet leaders will by nature continue to press on every point for the maximum objectives up to the actual breaking point with the rest of the nations and will not back down in their aggressions unless met at the point of aggression by superior military and political force. This type of tactics, Kennan stated, undoubtedly will continue but he expressed the opinion that the Soviet Union, when the breaking point is reached, will, at least for the present, backtrack rather than face the possibility of a third world war. Kennan also expressed the opinion that a war between the Soviet Union and the Western powers is not necessarily inevitable and can be avoided if relations with the Soviet Union are handled intelligently and with the requisite firmness.

Kennan pointed out that at the present time the Soviet Union is as completely a controlled police state as it ever has been and that the maximum supervision is exercised over all Soviet citizens and foreigners by the twin ministers of police and security, the MVD (The Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs, formerly the NKVD) and the MGB (The Soviet Ministry of State Security, formerly the NKGB). Kennan advised that little is known by the average Soviet citizen concerning the operations of these ministries although the very mention of their names is sufficient to arouse fear. He pointed out that both ministries are apparently controlled still by Lavrenti Pavlovich Beria, former titular head of the NKVD and a member of the Politbureau, and Georgi Maximilianovich Malenkov, a Party secretary of the All Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) and also a powerful member of the Politbureau. Kruglov and Merkulov, the present ministers respectively of Internal Affairs and State Security, appear, according to Kennan, to be completely subservient to Beria and Malenkov, who by virtue of their close association and appearance are often called in Moscow "the twin Eunuchs." Further information concerning the powerful political position of Malenkov and Beria is set out below in connection with the Politbureau. With regard to the organization



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of the actual leaders of the Soviet Union, Kennan stated that at the present time, as for the past several years, the Soviet Union has been ruled under the direction of Joseph Stalin by the Politbureau of the Executive Committee of the All Union Communist Party (Bolshevik), the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Kennan pointed out that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as well as other Communist Parties, have frequently been referred to as a conspiracy within a conspiracy and expressed the opinion that the same situation presently exists in the Politbureau. He stated that while it is difficult to evaluate the real influence and power of the members of the Politbureau, out of the fifteen odd members five or six appear to make the elemental decisions and to have fuller knowledge and greater authority than the other members. Among this small, extremely powerful Politbureau group Kennan mentioned particularly Malenkov and Beria, referred to above, and Vyacheslav Molotov, the present Soviet Foreign Minister. He stated that these men under Stalin appear particularly powerful and appear to control many of the policies in the Soviet Union. Kennan stated that particularly powerful were Malenkov and Beria because of their control of the MVD and the MGB. Kennan mentioned that it had been rumored also but not confirmed that some months ago Beria was given by Stalin the task of heading a special atom bomb project in the Soviet Union, which allegation has been made before but never reliably confirmed. Of particular interest in connection with Kennan's statements regarding Beria and Malenkov was the fact that he expressed the opinion that of the two Malenkov probably is the leader and the more powerful intellect and personality. In this connection it is interesting to note that Malenkov has generally been considered junior to Beria not only in age but in actual power. Kennan's opinion, however, would seem to controvert this.

With regard to Malenkov you will recall from the Corby Case that Igor Sergeievitch Gusevko advised, in September, 1945, that Georgi Maximilianovich Malenkov was directly under Joseph Stalin the coordinator of all Soviet intelligence operations and that it was Malenkov who decided jurisdictional disputes concerning allocation and utilization of personnel and other disputes between the various intelligence agencies of the Soviet Union, including the Intelligence Department of the General Staff of the Red Army, the MGB (formerly the NKGB) and the political section of the All Union Communist Party (Bolshevik). This position as intelligence coordinator in the Soviet Union, in view of the known stress placed by the Soviet Government on intelligence, would obviously be one of considerable power and importance. With regard to the functions of the Politbureau and its operations, Kennan stated that it was his understanding, as a result of his experience in the Soviet Union, that during discussions of the Politbureau while various points of view were being expressed Stalin usually walked up and down the room smoking and making no comment until at some particular point in the discussion he made up his mind and signified the final decision by pointing his pipe to which ever one of the Politbureau members he agreed with and saying "He is right." Kennan stated he understood that these decisions of Stalin, reached in this manner at meetings of the Politbureau, would then be accepted as final and that one of the primary sources of strength of the Politbureau was its unity on such questions, inasmuch as after Stalin's decision was



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made all members of the Politbureau, even those who had most bitterly opposed the policy decided upon thenceforth supported the policy as if it were their own. Kennan was asked, in this connection, for his opinion as to what might happen in the event of Stalin's death when there would be no Stalin present to make the final decision among the arguing Politbureau members and was asked specifically whether in his opinion the death of Stalin might precipitate any serious internal crisis in the Soviet Union. Kennan stated that while, of course, any answer to this question was pure speculation it appeared probable that the death of Stalin will not cause any immediate chaos or collapse and that the Politbureau would be able to take over in the immediate period following Stalin's death but that subsequently there might develop a bitter fight for power among the various factions of the Politbureau, which might possibly strain the Soviet hierarchy badly. Much of the answer, according to Kennan, might depend upon whether or not the ultimate death of Stalin is anticipated for any length of time and what might be done upon anticipation of his death by Stalin to appoint and solidify the position of a successor of his choice. Kennan stated, as is obviously true, that the deciding factor to the question of who will rule the Soviet Union after Stalin's death depends necessarily upon who secures and maintains control of the Ministry of State Security (MGB) and the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD), inasmuch as the intelligence and military apparatus of these ministries is the most powerful single force in the Soviet Union. You will recall in this connection that the troops of the MVD reportedly number at least half a million and, according to Kennan, these troops are probably the only completely armed units which could immediately be mobilized within the Soviet Union and furnish the guards for all important buildings and functionaries, including the Kremlin and the members of the Politbureau themselves. The power consequently wielded by whoever controls these ministries is almost without limit inasmuch as the MGB and MVD control weapons, communications, transport, vital installations, and the physical apparatus of the government. In view of this, according to Kennan, the successorship of Stalin might well go to Malenkov and Beria or to one of them, although the possibility exists that Molotov might be able to capture the Party machinery, as such, before Malenkov and Beria. If Kennan's opinion is correct it would appear then that in the event of Stalin's death, unless conditions in the meantime have changed, that Malenkov would be the most logical successor in so far as it can now be determined.

Kennan was specifically asked concerning the present influence and power of Andrei Zhdanov and Andrei A. Andreyev, who, together with Malenkov, are Party secretaries and compose the secretariat of the All Union Communist Party (Bolshevik). Kennan stated that the position of Andreyev, and particularly Zhdanov, appears somewhat anomalous at the present time. It will be recalled in this connection that the source of Stalin's power for many years was originally his position as general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and that some years ago when he gave up this position he was replaced by the three-man secretariat. Kennan stated in this connection that it appeared that Stalin, in recent years, had attempted to play down the importance and power of the secretariat in order to cut down the danger of new, popular competition for power from that source and consequently Andreyev and Zhdanov apparently do not at the

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present time have as much power as they have had in the past, and particularly they are not as powerful as Malenkov, Beria and Molotov. With regard to Zhdanov particularly, Kennan stated that his position appeared particularly difficult to evaluate, among other reasons because of his past extreme prominence and his connection since 1934 with the Leningrad Soviet and the Leningrad Party Organization of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In this connection it should be recalled that the Leningrad Party Organization has always occupied a somewhat unique position in the All Union Communist Party (Bolshevik). The October Revolution of 1917 was actually in its initial stages the revolution of and was lead by the Leningrad Communist fraction, which was composed to a large extent of skilled workers from the Leningrad tool and related industries. The Leningrad Party Organization, as a result of this early background, has, according to Kennan, considered that it occupied a somewhat unique position. Certain disaffection occurred in the Leningrad Party Organization when the capital of the Soviet Union was moved to Moscow and when the Moscow Party Organization began to assume greater and greater importance.

For several years after the Revolution of October, 1917, and during the period of a certain disaffection in the Leningrad Party Organization, the Leningrad Party Organization was headed by Zinoviev, one of the most important leaders of the revolution who, because of his opposition to Stalin, was exiled to Eastern Russia some years later and was eventually purged. Several years before 1934, according to Kennan, Zinoviev was replaced as head of the Leningrad Party Organization under Stalin's order by Sergei Kirov, who at that time was considered Stalin's closest associate and most probable successor. It will be recalled, of course, that the assassination of Kirov in 1934 at Leningrad was apparently the event which was immediately responsible for the institution of the purges in the Soviet Union from 1934 to 1938, during which millions of Soviet citizens, including thousands of Party officials, were executed or placed in concentration camps. According to Kennan, sometime after the death of Sergei Kirov, Andrei Zhdanov, who was then considered one of Stalin's closest subordinates and who had frequently been mentioned as Stalin's probable successor, was on Stalin's order made head of the Leningrad Party Organization.

During the war Andrei Zhdanov wielded almost unlimited power on the Leningrad front and, according to Kennan, was the man most responsible for the Soviet defense of Leningrad which he directed. However, Kennan stated, a recent tendency to play down Zhdanov's importance has been noted. One incident which occurred approximately one year ago, according to Kennan, amounted to almost a direct slap to Zhdanov. In this connection, Kennan advised, about a year ago at an elaborate three-day celebration, the city of Leningrad was given the Order of Lenin for the defense of the Leningrad area and the city in 1941 and 1942. Although Zhdanov, as noted above, was the person primarily responsible for directing the defense of Leningrad he was not present at the ceremony and his name was not even mentioned in connection therewith, constituting, according to Kennan, a deliberate insult to his prestige and power. Kennan stated that in his opinion this incident is part and parcel of an attempt on Stalin's part to

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keep Zhdanov from becoming too powerful a figure, although there is little question but what Zhdanov continues to wield great influence.

In connection with these inner Politbureau rivalries and in connection with the consolidation of Stalin's absolute power through the purges, Kennan pointed out that whatever else may be said about Joseph Stalin it cannot be denied that he is a politician of the highest stature with the greatest possible ability at intrigue and at so playing off opposing forces against each other that his power in the past several years has never been seriously questioned. Kennan also pointed out that it is practically an immutable rule in the Soviet Union that great and constant public credit can only go to "the great leader and wise teacher, Comrade Stalin" and that incidents such as the ignoring of Zhdanov in connection with the award of the Order of Lenin to the city of Leningrad are commonly used to cut down the prestige of any possible competing figure in the Soviet hierarchy. Kennan expressed the opinion that no other member of the Politbureau is possessed of Stalin's same broad ability to handle the leading figures in the Soviet Union and that probably any successor to Stalin would have more trouble in consolidating and maintaining absolute power.

With regard to the purges, Kennan stated that beginning in 1934 and terminating in 1938, a series of purges were instituted under Stalin's order by the NKVD in the Soviet Union, resulting in slaughter or incarceration in concentration camps, not only of millions of Soviet citizens but of thousands of the top leaders of the Party and State. The first of these purges was set off as a result of the assassination of Sergei Kirov referred to above. In connection with this assassination, Kennan stated that he understood that the Leningrad NKVD was aware of the plot to assassinate Kirov but withheld its hand from affirmative action in an effort to develop the case and to pull off a tremendous coup in connection therewith. However, opportunity for the assassination occurred and Kirov was assassinated before the Leningrad NKVD Organization could prevent the assassination. As a result of this and immediately after the Kirov assassination, Stalin personally went to Leningrad where he himself interrogated the assassin and personally ordered the immediate execution of sixteen NKVD officials in the Leningrad area.

There was at this time, according to Kennan, in addition to the rivalry between the Leningrad Party Organization and the Moscow Party Organization, considerable rivalry between the Leningrad and Moscow NKVD Organizations which, plus the desire of the Leningrad NKVD Organization to build up its prestige, may have contributed, at least partially, to their failure to prevent the Kirov assassination. The execution of Kirov's assassin and the sixteen NKVD men was only the beginning and during the following four years a series of purges, several of which culminated in Moscow Show Trials, were effectuated by the NKVD.

It will be recalled in this connection the tremendous Soviet publicity that attended the various Moscow Show Trials, including the case of the Anti-Soviet

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Trotskyite Centre and the case of the Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites. The purges culminated in the military purge before and after the secret trial in Moscow before the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR in 1938 of the top marshals and generals of the Red Army, including Marshal Mikhail Tukhachevsky, the then brilliant chief of staff of the Red Army, who was responsible perhaps more than any other single person for the technical and organizational strides made by the Red Army in the 1930s. The military purge trial was, of course, given no publicity. Kennan pointed out, as has been well known, that the show case trials in connection with the purges which resulted in the execution of most of the defendants charged represented only an infinitesimal portion of the actual number of officials purged. Through the show trials and the attendant unannounced purges, practically every old Bolshevik who still retained power and prestige and who was not completely subservient to the will and whims of Joseph Stalin was eliminated and as a result of the purges thousands of old Party members were obliterated. Since 1938 the percentage of members of the All Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) who participated in the revolutions of 1905 and 1917 has been relatively small.

It is interesting to note in this connection that at the Party Congress of the All Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) in 1938, after the purges, Joseph Stalin publicly admitted before the Party Plenum that the Party in 1938 contained several hundred thousand less members than it had four years before, a tacit admission of the extent of the butchery of the Party through the purges, which amounted to, according to some estimates, between 20 and 33 and 1/3 per cent of the Party membership. It is amusing also to note that Stalin's statement in this connection amounting to the admission of the blood toll of the purges in the Party, was met at every pause for breath by unanimous shouts of "Hurrah for Comrade Stalin! Long live Comrade Stalin!"

The purges from 1934 to 1938 constituted a series of related executions wherein at least three sets of officials in the Soviet Union were purged. In other words the first purge of officials was followed by a second purge in which the Party and NKVD officials responsible for the first purge were themselves purged, which in turn was followed by the purging of the officials responsible for the second purging, it being interesting to note that among others two successive heads of the NKVD were directly or indirectly purged in this manner. Throughout this series of related purges, wherein the purging officials were themselves successively purged, the primary motive was to completely consolidate and insure the personal power of Joseph Stalin and every successive official brought up from the ranks to take the place of a purged official was selected on the primary basis of blind utter loyalty to Stalin. The men who now make up the Politbureau as mentioned above and are under Stalin's thumb, the rulers of the USSR, are the men who, according to Kennan, survived the successful purges of the 1930s.



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In this connection Kennan pointed out that particularly Georgi Maximilianovich Malenkov and Lavrenti Pavlovich Beria fall in this category and Kennan hazarded the opinion that worse than anything else Stalin would probably hate to have to replace Malenkov and Beria at the present time, inasmuch as their loyalty to him appears to have been demonstrated and inasmuch as undoubtedly they have so administered the Ministries of Police and Security that no other major figures of proven loyalty to Stalin and of equal ability are presently discernable in the lower ranks of the MVD and MGB. It will be recalled in this connection that it is Kennan's opinion that Kruglov and Merkulov, respectively titular ministers of the Ministries of Internal Affairs and State Security at the present time, are merely stooges for Malenkov and Beria, who actually control both Ministries, and it is Kennan's opinion further that Malenkov and Beria or one of them would be the most probable to succeed Stalin in the event of his death in the immediate future.

With regard to foreign Communist Parties, i.e. Communist Parties outside the Soviet Union, and the direct or indirect control of the operations and policies of those parties by the Politbureau of the All Union Communist Party (Bolshevik), as well as with regard to the alleged dissolution but possible present existence of the Comintern, Kennan made the following comments. In Moscow visiting foreign Communists are presently as closely supervised as other foreigners and the average Party member and official in the Soviet Union, according to Kennan, holds foreign Communists in utter and complete contempt, feeling that they have already forsworn one loyalty and one allegiance and are not consequently to be depended on or to be trusted to the fullest extent. This statement by Kennan obviously would not be meant by him to apply to the hard inner core of foreign Communists engaged in conspiratorial work, whose loyalty has been frequently demonstrated and who have consistently been depended upon by the Soviet Union. In this connection Kennan specifically mentioned the importance of and the trust placed in such figures as Georgi Dimitroff, present head of the Bulgarian Communist Party and for many years secretary general of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Kennan continued that while the officials of the Politbureau of the All Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) are perfectly willing to utilize foreign Communist Parties, most of the members of those parties are held in the greatest personal contempt for their "treason". In connection with foreign Communist Parties further, Kennan expressed the opinion, which he admitted was difficult to verify, that in almost every country there exists by reason of minority problems, biological trends, and other reasons an almost irreducible percentage of potential traitors who are prone to affiliate with one or another foreign political and ideological movement, their adherence to which amounts actually to treason to their country. Kennan pointed out that this percentage of potential traitors in most countries, particularly in continental Europe, with the exception of France and Czechoslovakia, appears to run in the neighborhood of ten percent as a fairly consistent figure, varying from perhaps seven to fifteen per cent, depending upon the particular area and the particular existent conditions involved.

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In this connection Kennan expressed the opinion that a substantial number of, what he termed, this consistent percentage of potential traitors were susceptible to National Socialist penetration during the years from 1934 to 1944, and many of them, according to him, while they were affiliated with National Socialism during World War II, have now gone over to the Communist movements of their respective countries.

With regard to France and Czechoslovakia, which he listed as exceptions to the fairly consistent ten percent, Kennan made the following comments. In France the French themselves so bitterly hate other Frenchmen that they are willing to call in the devil himself for political purposes if it can effectively embarrass opposing French political factions. This plus the history of political dissension in France and the results of the German occupation, during which the Communists were able to effectively infiltrate to a great extent into the underground movement, have resulted, according to Kennan, in the tremendously high percentage of Frenchmen now espousing the Communist cause in France, it being recalled in this connection that the French Communist Party is presently the most powerful political party in France. Kennan did put forward the unsupported opinion, however, that if it came to a clear irrevocable choice, the majority of the French would soon "sluff off" French Communism.

With regard to Czechoslovakia, which Kennan listed as the second exception among European countries to his rule of thumb that there is a fairly consistent percentage of potential traitors, he stated that first Czechoslovakia has always been strongly orientated towards Russia because of the impact of pan-Slavism and other factors, and that in addition, even before the war the Communists were extremely effective in infiltrating themselves into the group surrounding Edward Benes. In addition, during the war the Czech resistance movement was most effectively infiltrated by the Czech Communists. Even before the war Kennan pointed out the Czech Ambassador to Moscow was no more and no less than a Soviet tool and perhaps an instrumentality of the NKVD. The Ambassador referred to by Kennan in this connection is undoubtedly Fierlinger who is now the Czech Foreign Minister. According to Kennan, although Fierlinger is not an admitted Communist, as Czech Foreign Minister he makes an effective Soviet tool. It will be recalled, of course, also that the Czech Government, at the present time as a result of the above factors and as a result of the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Red Army is almost completely Communist controlled, the Czech Premier, at the present time, Klement Gottwald, being the head of the Czech Communist Party.

Kennan stated that the Communists had been very effective in almost all European countries where resistance movements were active in infiltrating these movements and in utilizing the cells thereof for Communist political and propaganda purposes. This was true even in the Scandinavian countries such as Norway and Denmark, where the stable constitutional monarchies have, since the cessation of hostilities, provided a rallying point effectively used against the Communist Parties of these countries.

## Memo to the Director

Consequently Communist influence in these countries is not as strong as it was during the days of the illegal resistance movement, although it is still material and much greater than before World War II.

With regard to the dissolution of the Comintern and the possible present Soviet control of all Communist Parties on an international basis, Kennan stated that in his opinion the alleged dissolution of the Communist International in 1943 was not actually a dissolution at all but a decentralization and at the present time various secretariats have been set up outside the Soviet Union for the control of Communist Parties within a given area. In this connection he expressed the opinion that Jacques Duclos probably heads a secretariat in France controlling the Western Communist Parties and that Georgi Dimitroff, referred to above, undoubtedly controls under the Politbureau the policies of the Communist Parties of the Balkans. Kennan pointed out in this connection that it would be relatively simple in a controlled country like Bulgaria for Georgi Dimitroff to be flown frequently to Moscow to report to and receive instructions from the Politbureau and that such visits would be extremely difficult to detect. Kennan also pointed out the possibility which has been considered for some time by the Bureau, that with regard, at least, to the Party line of the various Communist Parties, no central Bureau issuing daily instructions is presently necessary. Most of the important Communist Parties in Europe are now under the control of old trusted Stalinists who have been Bolsheviks for years and who have considerable ability and sense of political analysis (for example Wilhelm Pieck in Germany; Georgi Dimitroff in Bulgaria; Klement Gottwald in Czechoslovakia; Palmiro Togliatti (Ercoli) in Italy; and Jacques Duclos, Maurice Thorez and Andre Marty in France.) Kennan pointed out in this connection that almost any of these old Communist leaders could effectively direct the Party line by listening to Moscow radio and by assiduously reading "Pravda" "Izvestia", the "Bolshevik", and other official organs of Party and State in the Soviet Union.

The use of open code on Moscow radio broadcasts in connection with the determination of broad policies and propaganda lines is, of course, also at least a possibility. In connection with Kennan's remarks regarding the possible present international control of all Communist Parties by the Politbureau through various open or concealed channels, it should be noted that probably such international control is presently under the direct jurisdiction of Georgi Maximilianovich Malenkov, identified by Igor Sergeievitch Guzenko as the head of the Political Section of the All Union Communist Party (Bolshevik), which section, according to Guzenko, has replaced at least in part the apparatus of the old Comintern and is responsible for liaison with foreign Communist Parties and the direction of policy and operations of foreign Communist Parties.

With regard to the present system of police control in the Soviet Union and the controls placed on foreign diplomats, Kennan stated that since the beginning of the purges of the 1930s, police controls in the Soviet Union have been more widespread and more brutal and strict than previously. These controls

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have not been relaxed since the end of World War II but in some instances have been extended, one of these instances, as noted above, being the control of returning Red Army personnel who are apparently considered politically unreliable because of their contact with Western European civilization and their understanding of the economic differences between the Soviet Union and the West. In this connection Kennan stated that Red Army personnel who were prisoners of war in almost no instances have been permitted to return to their homes in the Soviet Union but have either been resettled in other parts of the Soviet Union or have been placed at forced labor, a policy which has seriously prejudiced the morale of the Red Army but which the Red Army, in view of the strict MVD and MGB controls, is unable to prevent.

Foreign diplomats, including American representatives - perhaps particularly, are subjected to the strictest controls and their contacts with the Russians are extremely limited. With the exception of official contacts with the highest Soviet officials these contacts are limited, according to Kennan, to a mere handful of individuals in Moscow who are well educated, charming, and excellent company but who are undoubtedly employed by the MGB and who in their contacts with the diplomats walk a continuous tight rope between the fear of execution and the demands of their employers. The only other contacts permitted, according to Kennan are with the bevy of amateur or professional prostitutes provided and supplied by the MGB and controlled completely by that organization.

During the early years of the operation of the American Embassy in Moscow, after the recognition of the Soviet Union in 1933, Kennan stated that one of the few Russians who did attend Embassy functions, with the exception of Litvinov and certain other official personnel who attended as a formal matter, was a Baron Steiger, a carry over from the old czarist regime and a man of considerable personal charm and ability. Kennan stated that he and other Embassy personnel found considerable difficulty in evaluating Steiger's position and the reasons why he alone was permitted such apparent freedom of contact with diplomatic personnel in Moscow and finally came to the conclusion that Steiger was employed by the NKVD (now MGB) to keep watch, probably on Litvinov who was never completely trusted by the Soviet hierarchy.

During the 1930s, when Joseph E. Davies became Ambassador to the Soviet Union, he desired to have members of the Politbureau who had never previously attended an American diplomatic function, attend a dinner or luncheon he wanted to give. At Davies' request, although he felt it was hopeless in view of previous refusals, Kennan approached Steiger and asked if he thought certain Politbureau members would attend a function at Davies' personal invitation. Steiger said it could be arranged and that they would attend. Subsequently Kennan attempted to arrange for the attendance of the Politbureau members through the chief of protocol of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs who initially refused to even tender the invitation to the Politbureau members, pointing out to Kennan that Politbureau members never attended such functions, and refused in the past, and it would only be embarrassing to everyone concerned to have an invitation tendered and again refused. Kennan, at this point, stated he told the chief of protocol



Memorandum to the Director

that he had reason to believe that the Politbureau members would attend and when asked why he so believed he stated Steiger had so advised him. Subsequently several members of the Politbureau did attend this function, but Kennan stated that shortly thereafter, the next time he saw Steiger, Steiger was completely furious and mentioned to him he understood he had mentioned his, Steiger's, name to the chief of protocol. Shortly thereafter, according to Kennan, Steiger was caught in the net of one of the purges and shot. Kennan stated he had since then felt rather badly at mentioning Steiger's name, although he did not feel that his mention of the name was at all the reason why he was purged, inasmuch as Steiger was a protege of Yanakidze, a Georgian then secretary of the Supreme Soviet and an important figure who was himself shot as a result of the purge. In this connection it should be noted that almost invariably during the various purges, when an important figure was shot, almost without exception his proteges, immediate subordinates, and sometimes superiors were also shot, with the exception, of course, of the "reliable" individual responsible for the purging or the denunciation which lead to the purging and execution. Kennan did state, however, that he thought it entirely possible that his mention of Steiger's name to the chief of protocol of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs gave Steiger's enemies another club with which to belabor him.

Kennan stated that the constant fear in which all Soviet leaders live in view of the possibility that they may be executed at any time and the network of controls, denunciations, counter-denunciations, and police spying to which they are subjected is absolutely inconceivable. Kennan stated that any prominent figure in the Soviet Union has powerful enemies and that it is not even necessary for Stalin to deliberately order a purge, all that is necessary is for him to indicate that a particular functionary or personage is out of favor and attacks by his enemies will not result in the purge of his enemies themselves.

Action: In view of the cogency and interest of Kennan's statements, this memorandum has been prepared for your information and for the completion of the files.

WHE:mpd

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. LADD

FROM : E. G. Fitch

SUBJECT: Off-The-Record Talks on Russia and Communism  
By George F. Kennan  
SECURITY MATTER - R

DATE: November 25, 1946

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Coffey  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

As of possible interest to the Bureau there are attached two copies of a letter prepared by Mr. George F. Kennan, former United States Minister Counsellor at the Embassy in Moscow, now Deputy for Foreign Affairs at the National War College. This letter was written by Mr. Kennan to an official of the State Department outlining his experiences he had during the time he made a number of off-the-record talks throughout the country concerning communism and Russian activities.

George As can be noted from the attached letter the comments made by Mr. Kennan exemplify to a certain extent the feelings of the American people in the localities in which he spoke. Of particular interest is the comments he makes on his lectures in California.

G.I.R.-5

It is suggested that this memorandum be referred to the Internal Security Section for its information. This material was made available to Mr. Roach by Mr. Fred Lyon of the State Department.

Attachments

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Per OG-A letter dated 9-5-700 5P48JA/DFW  
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U S DEPT OF JUSTICE

OFFICE MEMORANDUM . United States Government

CONFIDENTIAL

TO : U-- Mr. Acheson

November 7, 1946

FROM : PA - F. H. Russell

SUBJECT: Program of Off-The-Record Talks

The attached report by George Kennan contains his observations on a tour of off-the-record talks on US-USSR relations in the middle and far West. Mr. Kennan's concluding recommendation is: "... I think this sort of work should be continued; and I think the Department should be careful to get people who are thoroughly familiar with their subjects...and who can talk well enough to hold the attention of large groups of people. There is undoubtedly a crying need for a greater degree of contact between the Department and circles all over the country interested in foreign affairs: and the possibilities for constructive effort along this line are enormous."

Excerpts from comments which have come to us directly are also attached.

This type of contact between Department and public is one of the most effective and promising ways of educating the public in foreign affairs and instilling "greater confidence in the sincerity and soundness of the State Department", as Mr. Kennan puts it.

Returning Chiefs of Mission, Foreign Service officers and special attaches can make a very helpful contribution to this program and at the same time get a good look at the country as Mr. Kennan did. Department officers should also bear in mind the possibility of promoting the Department's interests in this respect, if only for a single informal talk in connection with a trip that has to be made for other reasons.

Information of real value can be conveyed to the most influential sections of the public through off-the-record meetings with select groups of business and professional leaders. These meetings are always arranged in consultation with the appropriate policy desk, and precautions are taken to avoid causing political repercussions.

PA is also interested in receiving reports like Mr. Kennan's. First-hand observations of this kind give valuable insight into the public's attitudes on foreign policy and needs for information.

Enclosures:

1. Report by George Kennan
2. Comments from sponsors of meeting
3. Comments from persons attending meeting.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy of a letter from Mr. George F. Kennan,  
Formerly Minister Counsellor at Embassy Moscow,  
Now Deputy for Foreign Affairs at the National  
War College.

Dear Mr. Russell:

I undertook to let you have a report on my recent  
tour. Here it is.

Enclosed with this letter is first of all a statement  
of the various engagements which I fulfilled. I included  
only engagements where I had to hold the floor, talking  
simultaneously to all those present. I did not include  
many other meetings with smaller groups which were of a  
more informal character. You will note that in addition  
to the engagements out west I have included one, namely  
with the Adams County Bankers' Association, which I  
voluntarily undertook just after my return to my home  
here. I undertook it because the people concerned were  
my neighbors; but the occasion turned out to be little  
different in character than those which had been arranged  
at the points in the west, and I think that the Department  
should have record of it.

I am also enclosing certain other papers which I think  
may be of interest to you, if you do not already have them;  
namely, the list of those present at the Portland meeting;  
a letter recently received from Brewster; the program notice  
for the meeting at Stanford; the list of those present  
at the Stanford meeting; the list of those present at the  
Berkeley meeting; and a letter which I have just received  
from the head of the Adams County Bankers' Association.  
I also enclose as of possible interest to you, although it  
has nothing to do directly with my trip, a progress report  
of the Exploratory Committee for an Inter-Organization  
Council on World Affairs in San Francisco, dated July 30.

Now as to my impressions:

I consider the trip to have been generally successful,  
insofar as I believe that I was able to impart to many of the  
people to whom I spoke, (1) a calmer, more realistic,  
less extreme and less alarmist view of Soviet-American

relations than they had taken or had been exposed to before, and (2) a greater confidence in the sincerity and soundness of the State Department. The trip had its ups and downs, and some audiences were easier than others to influence; but in general I think the project was useful and I believe you will find that view shared by the people who organized the meetings.

In endeavoring to classify the audiences by their reactions, I find myself struck from the start by the fact that the most successful talks were those addressed to stag gatherings of businessmen. These groups proved - I think without exception - to be receptive and appreciative audiences.

On the other hand, the hardest sledding I encountered was with precisely those groups which devote most attention to foreign affairs, namely, the academic circles and the groups organized for the specific purpose of studying and discussing international events. (An exception to this statement was the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, the members of which seemed to me to be a more enlightened and cosmopolitan lot than those elsewhere.)

Now how is this to be explained?

My own analysis is as follows:

(a) It is generally easier, for me at any rate, to enlist the interest and initiative of stag audiences than of mixed audiences on a serious political topic. That explains in part why the stag meetings were generally more successful than the others.

(b) Business is, in this country, the profession which has first claim on intelligence, talent, and ability. The business men with whom I spoke (they were, almost without exception, prominent and successful ones), seemed to me to be generally superior in clarity of thought, in realism of judgment, in knowledge of human nature, and in understanding for the essentials of political conflict than the persons in other categories. This rendered them better able to understand the complexities of the Russian approach to international affairs.

(c) The businessmen approached the question with open minds. They were not committed in advance to any given set of ideas about it. Their personal pride or prestige was not engaged in any particular slant on the Russian question. For that reason they were friendly, curious, and generally anxious to be enlightened.

(d) The women's clubs and organizations devoted to the study of international problems have a large percentage of members for whom "foreign affairs" are apparently a form of escape from the boredom, frustration and faintly guilty conscience which seem to afflict many well-to-do and insufficiently occupied people in this country. Russia was a favored object for this kind of escapism. From a distance, it looked mysterious and inviting, with just enough of wickedness and brutality to complete the allure. "Collaboration with Russia" had a fine liberal ring about it, and was something no one needed to be too precise about. It was easier and pleasanter to talk about than problems nearer home: race problems, labor problems, or slum control. And had not numbers of prominent people, including some in high government position, assured them that without "collaboration with Russia" there was no hope for the peace of the world?

For these people, it was clearly unsettling and unpleasant to be assured that, far from offering an escape from American realities, Russian-American relations demanded a courageous clearing away of many of the internal problems of this country, and that without a healthy, harmonious, and creditable arrangement of life at home, this country could never hope to hold the lead successfully in foreign affairs against tough, aggressive political forces elsewhere in the world. And it was not pleasant for these people, whose main object was to avoid trouble, to be asked to believe that the road to a betterment of Russian-American relations lay only through a long, unpleasant process of setting will against will, force against force, idea against idea - through a process of conflict and dispute rather than through a happy collaboration for common ends.

(e) A further problem was presented by those who had been leading public opinion locally in matters of foreign affairs: professors, commentators, lecturers, organizers, etc. For one thing, most of them had publicly taken one line or another with regard to Russia that was not in accord with what I had to say. Their amour propre was doubtless affected, in some instances, by hearing their views challenged from the pulpits, so to speak, of their own churches. Furthermore, I had the feeling that many of them had thrown themselves with particular enthusiasm into rosy forecasts of the prospects for Russian-American collaboration because they felt that there would be something in it for them, personally. This attitude had proved a popular drawing-card with interested audiences; and they saw themselves in the vanguard of a development which would eventually enhance their own glamour, prestige and importance. For this reason they were not in the mood to descend, as I was forced to ask them to do, to a sober and realistic view of the subject; and it seemed to me that many of them sat, listened, and departed in a troubled and sometimes sullen silence.

The above considerations may account at least for some of the differences which I noted. In any case, by far the greatest resistance to what I had to say seemed to stem from the people who make a profession of talking to others about foreign affairs and from those to whom, for the most part, they had been talking.

Now taking up the audiences individually, the following may be said:

The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations people were, as mentioned above, a superior group. They were well informed and distinctly cosmopolitan in their approach. They seemed to have no geographic bias.

The Milwaukee Journal staff were a group of skentical and able newspapermen from one of the middle west's best papers. Their editor had returned from Germany only an hour or two before I spoke to them. They were well informed, hard-headed and grateful.

The Milwaukee League of Women Voters and the representatives of other organizations whom I met at a luncheon



at the City Club, struck me as representing neither the brains nor the power of that community. There was something distinctly weary and faded about them. I never realized before I talked with that group how provincial was my native city, and I wondered in retrospect whether the effort had been worth while. The only note of appreciation came from a clergyman who viewed the effort strictly from a professional point of view and assured me approvingly that I had missed my calling.

The group of prominent Milwaukee business men (privately assembled) to whom I spoke the next day presented quite a different picture. The whole atmosphere of the gathering was keen and vigorous. The questions were penetrating, challenging, and intelligent. It was evident into what channels energy and imagination flowed in that eminently practical and self-satisfied community.

I had little chance to judge the people in Seattle. My train was many hours late. I succeeded in arriving by airplane during the dinner, just in time to speak. I was suffering from an intestinal ailment which hounded me through the entire tour and had had almost nothing to eat all day. The meeting, consequently, was something of a tour de force. My impression was that the Seattle people were a fairly alert and well-informed group. But they did not exhibit the interest in the occasion itself that some of the other groups did. I did not see any of them before or after the meeting. The secretary offered to drive me around the next morning, if I so desired, but the offer was made with no great enthusiasm and I did not avail myself of it.

In Portland we were treated with great personal kindness, particularly by the man who appeared to be the guiding spirit of the Committee on Foreign Relations there, Mr. Brewster. He struck me as a person of superior tact and understanding and I have no hesitation in saying that the Department can safely place confidence in him in public liaison work. In Portland, as in Seattle, the Committee on Foreign Relations appeared to be a stag affair. In any case, only men were present at the meetings. The Portland gathering was very informal, with a distinctly breezy, hardboiled western touch to it; but the people were open and friendly, even when they did not agree with me. They were one of the easiest groups to talk to, and I felt that the meeting was clearly successful.

San Francisco presented definitely the greatest problem of any of the places I visited. This was despite the fact

that the meetings there were by far the most elaborately and carefully organized. I attribute this partly to the fact that the meetings were arranged by a central organization which is trying to hold under its maternal wing a number of other organizations for the study of international affairs which vary considerably in purpose, outlook and membership. I have the impression that for this reason the central organization sought to avoid any awkward facing of the issues which might have alienated one or another of the groups in question. The meetings thus acquired a fragile, cautious quality which I know cramped my style and I think must have cramped that of the audience. It even caused me to question the soundness of international study groups which do not take sides. There is something bloodless and timid about them. Before I left San Francisco I told some of them that I would have preferred it if they had separated all their listeners into the pros and the antis and had separate meetings for each of them and announced the meetings by saying that there's an s.o.b. by the name of Kennan who thinks he can come here and tell us something about Russian-American relations - now let's tear him to pieces. I would rather have faced such audiences than the wary, pussy-footing groups that I did meet, where everyone felt that the most important things were unsaid and that somehow or other it would have been frightfully inappropriate to say them. After I talked to the Stanford group, which was the heaviest, I asked Harris, the head of the Russian-American Institute, who has a sense of humor, what was the matter with them. "Think nothing of it," he said, "That was just the academic kibitzer."

I am afraid that if I am to be frank I must note that two of the three meetings in San Francisco were among the academicians, and that there hung over them something of the intellectual snobbery and pretense, the jealousies and inhibitions, and the cautious herd-instinct which have a habit of creeping into college faculties, whether liberal or conservative, unless there are enough honest and courageous people to combat them. But added to this were two other elements which made things difficult. One of these was a bias against the State Department as such. The other was a geographic inferiority complex, if I may call it that; a feeling that the east, including the State Department, was haughty and supercilious and neglectful of the wisdom and vision which flourished in the centers of learning on the West Coast. Nowhere else did I encounter anything like the distrust and disparagement of the Department that I found in the academic world of the San Francisco region.

I had a feeling that it stemmed partly from the fact that many of the professors there had an understandable yearning to be closer to the actual operations of diplomacy and a sneaking suspicion that if they were in on it, they could do it all much better. But the geographic element entered into it, too. There was a certain neurosis there: a resentment of the fact that things are still centered in the east; a desire to see the Pacific area just as important and recognized as being as important - as the Atlantic. This played a particularly noticeable role in the discussion of Russian questions, for I could see that many of my listeners viewed the development of "collaboration" with Russia as one of the things that was going to increase the activity and importance of their particular area. They had set high hopes on the development of relations across the Pacific between the West Coast of our country and Siberia. Their noses were out of joint over the failure of these hopes to materialize, and they were inclined to put the blame on the State Department, whose shortcomings would provide a valid and convenient excuse, rather than on the Russians; for to admit that the latter were at fault would have been to admit that they themselves had been rash in their estimate of the situation. In short, many people on the West Coast were looking for a scapegoat on which to cast the blame for shattered hopes about Russia and about international collaboration in general, and the Department, being in the first place in the East, in the second place staffed by other Americans whom they envied and distrusted, and in the third place relatively defenseless, was a natural candidate.

There are two side-lights to this which deserve mention. There were many signs of strong direct Soviet interest and of real Communist activity among intellectual circles on the West Coast. I am not an alarmist about these things; but I have been connected with Russian affairs for too many years not to know the real thing when I see it, and I found more of it there than anywhere else I have been. This was particularly the case in San Francisco; and I had the feeling that the circles which Dr. Staley has gathered under his wing are easy meat for Soviet agents of every sort. I had no doubt at any of my meetings there that every word I said was being dutifully reported to the Soviet Consul before the day was out. There is no great harm in this, and I did not alter what I said for that reason; but if the Department has people going out there to talk on subjects more confidential in character, it had better exercise some check on who is admitted to the meetings.

The second side-light is the influence of the atomic scientists on opinion in that section. Some of these gentlemen were at the Berkeley meeting. The exact nature

of their views is still nebulous to me; for they seemed to combine a grudging approval of Mr. Baruch's proposals for an International Atomic Energy Authority with an unshakeable faith that if they could only get some Soviet scientists by the button-hole and enlighten them about the nature of atomic weapons, all would be well. I don't think it had ever occurred to them that a realization of the tremendous destructive possibilities of atomic energy might be less inclined to scare the Russians into international collaboration than to whet their desire to find a way of using it without danger to themselves. Politically these people are as innocent as six year old maidens. In trying to explain things to them I felt like one who shatters the pure ideals of tender youth. But fortunately for them, they didn't believe much of what I said and left, I am sure, unshaken in the comfortable conviction that such evil as exists in the world has its seat in the State Department, which doesn't want to understand, and not by any chance in the breasts of upstanding foreign statesmen who await only the generous hand of friendship from our side and pledge of faith in the form of the secrets of the manufacture of atomic weapons.

The members of the Jonathan Club in Los Angeles seemed to be a rough-and-ready lot, mostly oil men, retired army officers, etc., untouched by liberalism and little inclined either to give or to seek confidence with foreign governments. If they, too, were skeptical about the State Department, it was an amused skepticism, based mostly on journalistic tales of top hats and white spats, and not the tragic and brooding despair of liberal hearts in San Francisco. The Los Angeles people were unimpressed with the Department's request to keep the size of the meetings down. They had three hundred in the room and loud speakers all over the club, and it was obvious that they expected a real speech. So I shed my coat and let them have it, and they seemed to be pleased.

Beverly Hills, as you can imagine, was different, and the private group which Walter Wanger had gotten together was probably a good cross-section of that particular community. The group contained some very intelligent people, among whom I recall particularly young Douglas Fairbanks; but there was a certain detached quality about them, a form of casualness, which left me more or less baffled as to their reactions.

Incidentally, we had lunch in Hollywood with Mr. Goldwyn, found him impressed with his own ideological responsibilities as a maker of pictures, somewhat regretful

of the Song of Russia, determined to visit Moscow as soon as possible and see for himself, but benevolent and entirely amenable to suggestion and argument from the official side. I personally feel that the Department should try to remain in regular touch with such people.

Finally, there were my neighbors in Gettysburg. They came cheerfully and peacefully, unencumbered - bless their hearts - by any pretensions to knowledge of the subject or by any inordinate sense of responsibility about it. They listened humbly and intelligently; and although I was warned that it was quite customary for some of them to drift off during the proceedings and this was nothing that should be taken as a slight to the speaker, they all stayed decently awake throughout the evening. They asked few questions, because they were a little shy and unaccustomed to that sort of thing. Besides, they hadn't thought much about it, and they don't think that fast. But they were among my best audiences, and if they ask me to talk to them again I will happily do it. I had a faint sort of feeling that they were probably the most representative - and for that reason the most important - of the people I reached.

Now this has turned out to be a longer report than I had anticipated. But I thought these were mostly things you ought to know, for the guidance of any future official speakers.

Some time when we meet, perhaps we can discuss the morals which are to be drawn from this tale, particularly what to do about the state of mind of the liberal and academic people. I will only say, by way of conclusion, that I think this sort of work should be continued; and I think the Department should be careful to get people who are thoroughly familiar with their subjects by virtue of the practical work they have been doing and who can talk well enough to hold the attention of large groups of people. There is undoubtedly a crying need for a greater degree of contact between the Department and circles all over the country interested in foreign affairs; and the possibilities for constructive effort along this line are enormous.

I am returning to Washington Monday, to assume my new duties in the National War College, and you will be able to reach me there if there is any way I can be of further help to you.

Very sincerely,

George Kennan

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMENTS RECEIVED FROM SPONSORS OF  
THE MEETINGS AT WHICH MR. KENNAN SPOKE

Eugene Staley, Exploratory Committee for a Council on  
World Affairs, San Francisco.

"I want you to know that the visit to this vicinity of Mr. George Kennan was extraordinarily useful and was very much appreciated by all who had the opportunity of meeting with him.

"Mr. Kennan, as you doubtless know from other sources by this time, makes a remarkably fine impression. He is straight-forward and honest, and all the divergent opinion groups in his audiences seemed to feel that they got something real and worthwhile.

"It seems to me that this sort of thing, when it is done well in the manner in which Kennan and people of his type can do it, is enormously valuable from the point of view of the relations between the Department of State and the general public. It does more than anything else to live down the stereotype of the State Department as an aggregation of snarling and tea-drinking persons out of touch with the real problems of this world and out of sympathy with the common man of America. One member of the Berkeley conference, a commentator on the radio for the CIO, asked me afterwards how representative Kennan might be of State Department thinking. He said that if Kennan is representative of a considerable group that is very encouraging. In other words, he found his preconceptions somewhat shaken by the experience of the meeting."

Harold Dalglish, Transmittine Report from William  
L. Brewster, Portland Committee on Foreign Relations

"...group spent a very pleasant and unusually worthwhile evening with Mr. Kennan. I am sure you will be pleased to learn that the high expectations which the Portland Committee had when arranging the meeting with Mr. Kennan were fully met."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMENTS FROM PERSONS ATTENDING AN OFF-  
THE-RECORD MEETING IN WASHINGTON AT WHICH  
MR. KENNAN AND MR. LINDSEY THOMPSON SPOKE

Edward Scovill, Chief, Washington Office, Columbia  
Broadcasting System

"This was the most useful and helpful meeting  
I have attended since I have been in Washington.  
I hope that you have these regularly and that I can  
attend them all."

Sigrid Arner, AP Feature Writer

"This was a fine meeting, and one I wouldn't have  
missed for the world. I want to be put on the list  
for any such future meetings."

James P. Derrien, Chief, Colliers, Washington Bureau

"As a rule I am pretty chary of off-the-record  
meetings, but this one was an exception. I brought along  
a couple of Crowell-Collier executives, and we were  
absolutely delighted with it and found it helpful from  
every angle."

Beverly Smith, Saturday Evening Post

"I consider it one of the most useful and  
stimulating afternoons I have spent since I came to  
Washington. It did a lot to clear up my own thinking  
on the subject."

Richard Harkness, NBC Commentator

"How long has this been going on? It is useful,  
interesting and immensely valuable, and don't fail to  
let me know of any other meetings the State Department  
is arranging."



Eugene Hotchkiss, Referring to Chicago Council on  
Foreign Relations Meeting and Luncheon Given by  
Mr. Vogel in Milwaukee, with Key Men in Attendance

"Mr. Kennan did an admirable job at both of these luncheons and people whom I knew only slightly went out of their way to tell me afterwards how much they enjoyed being present and hearing Mr. Kennan talk. The thing that impressed me most, however, was that several of them expressed themselves as having a great deal of confidence in the work of the State Department after hearing Mr. Kennan's discussion of the Russian situation and were particularly pleased that such men as he were their representatives in dealing with other nations."

Will C. Conrad, Chief Editorial Writer of the Milwaukee Journal

"I wanted to tell you what a fine meeting we had here at the Journal with Mr. Kennan, and to thank you for arranging his visit with us.

"He gave us about an hour of what I should think is a very sound estimate of the Russian situation, and then we plied him with plenty of questions which he answered clearly and honestly. Fifteen or sixteen of Journal heads heard him and everyone was immensely pleased. As we look back on it, we realize it was a real opportunity."



OFFICE OF DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

April 14, 1947

3:05PM

MR. GEORGE F. KENNAN who described himself as the Deputy for Foreign Affairs at the National War College, and also indicated that he was associated with the State Department telephoned.

He said that he would like to see the Director, or someone that Mr. Hoover might designate, either this afternoon or tomorrow.

He did not indicate what he wished to discuss, but said that Mr. Hoover would remember that the Bureau had called him in last Fall to discuss Russian matters. He thought that the Director personally would be interested in the matter he wishes to discuss.

Mr. Fitch in ~~Security~~ Security Division advises that Mr. Kennan spent many years in Russia while he was with the State Department, and indicated that Mr. Kennan lectured to a group of supervisors last Fall. Mr. Fitch believes that at the same time Mr. Kennan and Mr. Fred Lyon saw the Director.

He said that a message could be left for him at the State Department this afternoon (extension 2919).

Files are being checked on Mr. Kennan.  
jmh  
58 MAR 17 1947 is making arrangements  
to see him. jmh

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Jones  
Mr. Pennington  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Beahm  
Miss Gandy

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: April 18, 1947

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT:

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Beahm	
Miss Gandy	

In accordance with the arrangements previously made, I talked to Mr. George F. Kennan on the afternoon of April 17, 1947. He stated that his purpose in calling at the Bureau was to call to the Bureau's attention the fact that there are numerous Russian Nationals who are being or could be alienated from their native Russia and who thereafter might be valuable sources of information, such as [ ] and others. He stated that numerous of these Russians have contacted him and that he is of the opinion that they may be in turn contacted by too many Government agencies. He states that by reason of his knowledge of the mental makeup of the Russian people, he does not believe this desirable and that he wanted to suggest to someone that there be set up something in the nature of a control over this work, that he had endeavored to interest CIG in attempting to make arrangements with some college or university whereby these people might be placed on the payroll to do research, translations and other work and to then work with representatives of the Government in furnishing information concerning conditions in Russia and other information of value to the Federal Government.

I advised Mr. Kennan that you are fully aware of the importance of this project and that you likewise had been concerned about the attempts of numerous agencies to interview these alienated Russians, that the Bureau had worked out arrangements with certain people in New York (meaning Countess Tolstoy), an arrangement whereby the Bureau was notified when any of these Russians expatriated themselves and that you had endeavored to have the interviews confined to the FBI, but that in too many instances, ONI, G-2 or other agencies were desirous of trying to exploit the individual Russian and attempted to conduct their own interviews with them.

Mr. Kennan stated he was very pleased to know that you recognized the problem of handling these Russian expatriates inasmuch as he was fearful no one was attempting to coordinate this work. He stated that he recognized fully that you could not push the Russian people and could not obtain all information in their possession on a mere interview without first gaining their confidence.

It appeared that Mr. Kennan had this problem on his mind and merely wanted to discuss it with someone. He left very pleased in the way the Bureau not only recognized the problem, but also handled it.

DML: da

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-14-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

32 MAY 3 1947

58 MAY 12 1947 R53 410933

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Boston

SUBJECT: GEORGE F. KENNAN - INFORMATION CONCERNING  
INTERNAL SECURITY (R) - REFER 5 IS

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 BSA/DFW

ON 7-14-99  
2410933

DATE: 9-23-47

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

[ ] has advised the following which may be of interest and assistance to the Bureau:

b7D

While in Moscow the informant on many occasions had opportunity to observe GEORGE F. KENNAN, then Minister-Counselor of the United States Embassy at Moscow. The informant [ ] confidential reports to the United States Department of State concerning the operations of the Russian Government, the political, economic, and state of health conditions of the Russian people. Kennan had also submitted individual reports analyzing the personalities of the men prominent in the Soviet regime. [ ] advises that the reports prepared by Kennan were numerous and voluminous. In his considered opinion they are valuable documents because their author is a keen observer, a careful thinker and an able writer.

Kennan [ ] past his evaluation of some of his fellow workers in the Embassy at Moscow which were not, in many instances, of a complimentary nature. However, Kennan does have a loyalty to all of his fellow employees in the State Department and [ ] is certain he would never criticize any of them "on the record." To the contrary, [ ] is certain that if any of these fellow workers were to become the centers of public controversy then Kennan would do all in his power to lessen criticism of them.

[ ] further stated he has received information that Kennan is very likely the author of the essay treatise which appeared in "Life" concerning our foreign relations with Russia. The article was designated as having been written by "X."

[ ] further relates that the former Assistant Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, [ ] the State Department was not inclined to regard Kennan's reports too favorably.

The foregoing has been furnished the Bureau for informative purposes and no action is suggested by the Boston Office. It can be noted, however, that if it were possible through a confidential source to obtain the documents prepared by Kennan they might well be of assistance to Division #5.

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SEP 29 1947

EX-56

62-81548-5  
R2

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE:

July 1948

FROM : SAC, Boston

DECLASSIFIED BY

SP4BJA/DFW

ON 1-14-99

SUBJECT: GEORGE KENNAN  
INFORMATION CONCERNING  
REFER 5 IS

410933

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Mr. Gandy	

GEORGE F. KENNAN is the State Department employee who has written a number of articles for Life magazine and the North American News Alliance over the past year concerned with the relationship between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Some of these articles were first written under the pseudonym "Mr. X." Prior to publication of any of said articles, the Bureau was advised at Boston by [redacted] that Mr. KENNAN was better qualified in his understanding of the Russian Foreign Office and the Soviet Government than any other employee of the State Department. [redacted] also indicated [redacted]

[redacted] KENNAN and vice versa.

[redacted] physician FREDA POR of 9 Sewall Street, Brookline, Massachusetts. Dr. POR is a maiden lady who arrived in the United States in 1938 as a Jewish refugee from Czechoslovakia. The informant became acquainted with Dr. POR in approximately 1944. In discussing European affairs during the intervening years, the informant has learned that Dr. POR is anti-Communist. Approximately three years ago Dr. POR suggested to the informant that she solicited a manuscript from GEORGE KENNAN. [redacted]

The informant acted on the suggestion prior to KENNAN's published magazine articles and at a time when the informant knew him only by the reputation given him by Dr. Por. When he first returned to the United States from Russia, KENNAN gave little indication of being interested in writing a book. However, he has continued to correspond with [redacted] and in the last sixty days has indicated definitely that he is seriously considering preparing a manuscript. The Little Brown Company is interested in this work because of a recent change in its policy which will make necessary the publishing of a number of non-Communist and anti-Communist books in order to overcome the reputation for pro-Communism which has been established in recent years.

During the week of June 26, 1948 Dr. POR advised [redacted] that she was spending the larger portion of July and all of August in Europe. Dr. POR further revealed that she is personally well acquainted and in the good graces of some of the Red Government officials in Czechoslovakia, Austria, Yugoslavia and Hungary. She is known to these persons as an anti-Nazi but not as an anti-Communist.

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3 JUL 7 1948

FIVE

53 JUL 16 1948

She further advised the informant that she had recently met KENNAN who had suggested to her that she publish a book predicated upon her observations of the Europe she left in 1938 and the Europe she found in 1948. Dr. POR has decided to bear this in mind when traveling and contacting the above named political figures. She stated that she felt that it would be difficult for her to accumulate notes in these countries at the present time and further to rely upon her memory for so much detail would result in inaccuracy. She, therefore, requested [REDACTED]

b7D

Because of the relationship between Dr. POR and GEORGE KENNAN, the informant believes it possible that Dr. POR will be acting as an agent for KENNAN inasmuch as Dr. POR has never displayed any literary ability.

[REDACTED] has brought this matter to the attention of the Boston Office with the thought that this Bureau might like [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Unless advised to the contrary, the Boston Office will follow this procedure.

It should be noted that [REDACTED] has not solicited or in any way endeavored to further this scheme. The Boston Office informant has made no suggestions but has simply acquiesced to those of Dr. POR with the intention of thus aiding the Bureau.

Photostats of the material obtained will be furnished the Bureau under this caption, unless the Bureau directs that some other be used.

In view of the confidential nature of the subject matter and the value of the Boston informant to the Bureau, correspondence is being maintained in the [REDACTED].

BSG:md  
66-1402

June 3, 1949

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-27-98 BY SP4 BJA/DFW  
# 410933

Mr. George F. Kennan  
Director  
Policy Planning Staff  
State Department  
Twenty-first Street and Virginia Avenue  
Washington, D. C.

G.I.R.-8

Dear Mr. Kennan:

I did want to take this opportunity  
to congratulate you on your appointment as  
Comptroller of the Department of State. I was  
indeed very happy to learn that you had been  
selected for this post and you have my best  
wishes for every possible success in your new  
responsibilities.

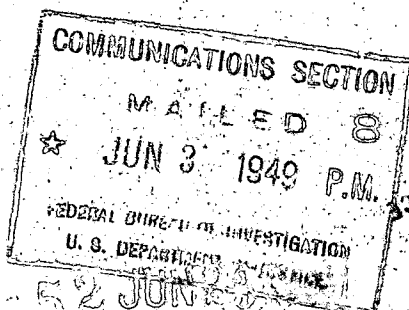
With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Supervisor Roach suggested that this letter  
of congratulations be sent to Mr. Kennan. His  
nomination is reflected in the Congressional Record  
for May 27, 1949.

WN:ms:rlc RQ

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



RECEIVED READING ROOM  
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U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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44 JUN 8 1949



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

June 8, 1949

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DATE 10-27-87 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
1410933

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

Dear Mr. Hoover:

It was very kind of you to send me  
your note of June 3, and I appreciate your  
thoughtfulness.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

*George F. Kennan*  
George F. Kennan

G. I. R. - 7

62-81548-8

RECORDED - 117

JUN 16 1949

DEFERRED RECORDING

The Honorable

J. Edgar Hoover,

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation,

Washington 25, D. C.

62 JUL 1 1949

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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. Ladd *ABg*

FROM : A. H. Belmont *ABg*

SUBJECT: GEORGE F. KENNAN  
COUNSELOR, STATE DEPARTMENT  
(BUREAU CONTACT)

DATE: July 19, 1950

Tolson ☒  
Ladd ☐  
Clegg ☐  
Glavin ☒  
Nichols ☒  
Rosen ☐  
Tracy ☐  
Harbo ☐  
Mohr ☐  
Tele. Room ☐  
Nease ☐  
Gandy ☐

While Mr. Roach was in conversation with Mr. George F. Kennan, Counselor of the State Department, recently, Kennan stated that he would like to have the Director informed that in the near future he intends to accept the courtesies extended to him by Mr. Michael W. Straus, Commissioner of the Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior, to use his, Straus's home in Washington during the summer months. He stated that he is well aware of Mr. Straus's ultra-liberal views and did not want the Bureau to gain the mistaken idea that he, Kennan, is of the same political leanings as Straus. Mr. Kennan explained that he has known Straus since boyhood; and although he does not agree with Straus on his political thinking, he is nevertheless a friend of his and a person with whom he has had a social acquaintanceship for a long time.

Mr. Kennan recently gave up his home in Georgetown in anticipation of his retirement from the Government. He moved his family to his farm in Pennsylvania but now finds it necessary to live during the summer in Washington. This is the reason for accepting Mr. Straus's invitation to use his home near Rock Creek Park while Mr. Straus and his wife are out of the city.

As you know, Michael Straus is an individual about whom the Bureau knows considerable with reference to his left-wing political leanings. A loyalty case was completed on him on March 10, 1948. The CSC advised on May 6, 1949, that he was being retained. Straus also complained to the Attorney General in November, 1949, regarding the use of his name in two Voice of America Cases handled by the Bureau.

## ACTION:

None. This memorandum is for your information.

*ABg*  
BRR:lw

RECORDED - 34  
INDEXED - 34

62-81548-9

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CRIME REC

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62-81548-91  
ENCLOSURE

SCAN FRONT

DOCUMENT(S) CANNOT BE SCANNED

DESCRIPTION

**BOOK**

# THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY.



Volume VI—Number 3

Summer, 1950

**"THE UNDERSTANDING OF RUSSIANS"**

—Arthur P. Coleman

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DATE 7-14-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
#410933

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: March 28, 1951

FROM : Mr. D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: AMERICA AND THE RUSSIAN FUTURE  
By George F. Kennan, Article in  
Foreign Affairs, April, 1951  
SECURITY MATTER - X

Tolson  
 Ladd  
 Nichols  
 Glavin  
 Rosen  
 Tracy  
 Harbo  
 Belmont  
 Mohr  
 Tele. Room  
 Nease  
 Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

PURPOSE:

DATE 10-27-98 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
1410433

The purpose of this memorandum is to submit a brief review of the above-captioned article, which will, no doubt, receive widespread comment in the American press and will be referred to frequently by different writers, speakers, etc., on the subject of Communism and Russia.

BACKGROUND:

As you know, George F. Kennan has for over twenty years pursued a career with the Department of State, reaching the position of head of the long-range Policy in Planning Committee. His diplomatic thesis in relation to Russia has been this: Soviet Russia cannot be reached or influenced through the medium of Western political terms, (e.g., liberal democracy, etc.) or philosophical concepts; that Russia holds capitalism to be incompatible with Communism, hence, Russian suspicion of us and all our actions. Further, the ultimate objective of Soviet Russia is a World Soviet Union. In the light of this, United States foreign policy should be one of tranquil firmness and "containment" of Russian expansion and conquest. His main idea is that as a result of this policy of containment, Russia can be expected in time to either cooperate with the United States or suffer internal collapse.

These views were presented by a Mr. X (reported to be George F. Kennan) in an article entitled "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," Foreign Affairs, July, 1947, and in a briefer form in Life of July 28, 1947.

Kennan left the State Department some time ago to engage in advanced study at Princeton University. He is also a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of Foreign Affairs: An American Quarterly Review. You will recall that George F. Kennan has always been friendly to the Bureau, furnishing pertinent and helpful information when in the State Department, etc.

DETAILS:

George F. Kennan, in his new article "America and the Russian Future," propounds certain well-defined ideas.

WCS:tgc

RECORDED - 66

INDEXED - 66

APR 16 1951

62-81548-10

L W.C.

These ideas may be outlined as follows:

I. The strength and vigor with which we Americans condemn and reject the thought and practices of the present rulers of Russia demonstrate how ardently we want new and different thoughts and practices in the Kremlin.

A. Some Americans have<sup>been</sup> and are speculating about a war as a means of achieving the desired end in Russia.

1. To assume that war against Russia, that a military decision would result in the creation of a Russia acceptable to Americans, is a gross error, a false assumption.

a. Military decisions are not positive and final.

b. Military victories at best are only relatively successful.

c. Military victory would not assure the form of government we would want in Russia, or social progress.

B. Therefore, a Russian nation which would be acceptable to democratic Americans is not a question to be decided by war.

1. Nor is it a question to be decided by peace per se; for this we now have, and the issue remains.

C. In order to determine the future relationship between Russia and the United States, profound thought and concentrated attention must be given to two major factors. These are:

1. The United States must know what it wants.

2. The United States must know how to get what it wants; how to conduct itself so as to facilitate the bringing into existence of an acceptable Russia rather than doing things that would impede this.

D. What the United States should seek must not be an Americanized Russia.

1. Russia will not be in the foreseeable future a liberal, democratic, capitalist, or private-enterprise-oriented nation as is the United States.
2. Russian history, culture, social mores, and psychology preclude any hope of Americanizing Russia, even if such were desirable.

E. What the United States should hope for is a Russia which truly expresses the nature and aspirations of the Russian people as a whole. This means:

1. We must hope for "a Russian government which, in contrast to the one we know today, would be tolerant, communicative and forthright in its relations with other states and peoples." (p. 357)
  - a. Russians could establish this type of government without sacrificing or abolishing all its socialistic forms of social organization.
2. We must hope for a Russian government which, while retaining the right to govern its internal affairs, as it sees fit, as its own business, should nevertheless firmly restrict the exercise of its state authority "short of that fairly plain line beyond which lies totalitarianism." (p. 358) Totalitarianism and the human enslavement and degradation within Russia which follow it, cannot be recognized by the United States.
3. We must hope for a new Russia which will not only cease to oppress its own people but also one which "will refrain from pinning an oppressive yoke on other peoples who have the instinct and the capacity for national self-assertion." (p. 359)



- F. The United States must not only hope for the above-described Russia of the future; it must also work toward its creation.
- G. The different means which the United States can utilize in helping to create the new and preferable Russia are:

1. Direct Action

- a. This includes the possibility of warfare, either a series of minor wars or one great major war.
- b. Warfare is a highly undesirable means of creating the new Russia and must be avoided if at all possible, because, among other things, it is "a form of bankruptcy for us all." (p. 363)
- c. Should war come, however, we must keep in mind that it alone cannot create a new Russia; that the positive, constructive action which follows war must do so. Therefore, even in war we must not lose sight of our goals; we must bend the weapons of war toward the realization of these goals. This means adopting a mature, sensible, understanding attitude toward the Russian people. (We failed to do this with the Germans to our detriment.) "We will get nowhere with an attitude of emotional indignation directed toward an entire people. Let us rise above these easy and childish reactions and consent to view the tragedy of Russia as partly our own tragedy, and the people of Russia as our comrades in the long hard battle for a happier system of man's coexistence with himself and with nature on this troubled planet." (p. 365) It will help to keep in mind that: "Totalitarianism is not a national phenomenon; it is a disease to which all humanity is in some degree vulnerable." (p. 365)

## 2. Indirect Action

- a. This includes the possibility of continuing our present state of tension, suspicion, armed peace and the "cold war" with Russia.
- b. Under such conditions actions are necessarily indirect, relative to creating a new Russia. In the light of such conditions, can there be any hope that a new and preferable Russia can be gradually created without warfare?
- c. The answer is "Yes"; there is hope. There is no "proof," but there is hope. This hopeful answer "is partly a matter of opinion and judgement, but partly, admittedly, an act of faith." (p. 365)
- d. This act of faith is predicated upon this fact: "There can be no genuine stability in any system which is based on the evil and weakness in man's nature--which attempts to live by man's degradation, feeding like a vulture on his anxieties, his capacity for hatred, his susceptibility to error, and his vulnerability to psychological manipulation. Such a system can represent no more than the particular frustrations and bitterness of the generation of men who created it, and the cold terror of those who have been weak or unwise enough to become its agents." (p. 366)
- e. Soviet Russia today is such a system, therefore, Soviet Russia can know "no genuine stability." It cannot endure. Changes may be expected. Human nature will express itself. It cannot and will not forever remain in the prison of Soviet power.
- f. Just how these changes will take place without warfare are not at present fully discernable because "we must admit with respect to the future of government in Russia, we see 'as through a glass darkly.'" (p. 368) They may come "by erosion from despotism" or "by the violent upthrust of liberty"; we cannot say which it will be. (p. 368)

- g. For the United States, if committed over a long period of time to indirect action, "the main thing is that we keep clearly in mind the image of what we would like to see in the personality of Russia as an actor on the world stage, and let that be our guide in all our dealings with Russian political factions, including both that which is in power and those which are in opposition to it." (p. 368) Above all we must avoid doing anything which would hamper or prevent desired changes from taking place.
- h. Among the things we must avoid doing are (1) imposing or forcing "foreign inspiration or advice" on Russia; (2) attempting to undermine Soviet Russia by foreign propaganda injected into its national life; (3) discussing Russian problems in our own terms exclusively; (4) propounding a point of view which is not relevant, practical or understandable to the average Russian citizen. The impulse for change must spring from the heart of the Russian people. It must come from the inside to the outside. It cannot be forced from the outside to the inside. We can by our national behavior facilitate this natural impulse for change; we cannot manufacture it.
- i. The United States can best facilitate a change in the Russian government and society toward more preferable social conditions by being an excellent example to Russia and to the world. The light of this example can penetrate into Soviet Russia with good results:

"For these reasons, the most important influence that the United States can bring to bear upon internal developments in Russia will continue to be the influence of example: the influence of what it is, and not only what it is to others but what it is to itself. This is not to say that many of those things which are now preoccupying the public mind are not of unquestioned importance: such things as physical strength, armaments, determination and solidarity with

"other free nations. It is not to deny the urgent and overriding necessity for a wise and adroit foreign policy... But they can only remain sterile and negative if they are not given meaning and substance by something which goes deeper and looks further ahead than the mere prevention of war or the frustration of imperialistic expansion. To this, there is general agreement; but what is this 'something'? Many people think it only a question of what we urge upon others, in other words, a question of external propaganda. I would submit that it is primarily a question of what we urge upon ourselves. It is a question of the spirit and purpose of American national life itself. Any message we may try to bring to others will be effective only if it is in accord with what we are to ourselves, and if this is something sufficiently impressive to compel the respect and confidence of a world which, despite all its material difficulties, is still more ready to recognize and respect spiritual distinction than material opulence.

"Our first and main concern must still be to achieve this state of national character. We need worry less about convincing others that we have done so. In the lives of nations the really worthwhile things cannot and will not be hidden. Thoreau wrote:

'There is no ill which may not be dissipated, like the dark, if you let in a stronger light upon it... If the light we use is but a paltry and narrow taper, most objects will cast a shadow wider than themselves.'

"Conversely, if our taper is a strong one we may be sure that its rays will penetrate to the Russian room and eventually play their part in dissipating the gloom which prevails there. No iron curtain could suppress, even in the innermost depths of Siberia, the news that America had shed the shackles of disunity, confusion and doubt, had taken a new lease of hope and determination, and was setting about her tasks with enthusiasm and clarity of purpose." (pp. 369-370)

OBSERVATION:

Like the previous 1947 article attributed to George F. Kennan, entitled "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," it is most probable that this recent article, "America and the Russian Future," will be read widely, analyzed, discussed and debated for some time in the different American channels of the written and spoken word. Further, it is not likely that Kennan wrote and published this article without first submitting and securing the approval of the top officials of the State Department. Therefore, one might reasonably conclude, bearing in mind Kennan's affinity to high ranking officials of the State Department that this article could be: (1) a trial balloon designed to test and evaluate the reaction of the American public to such a course of action; (2) a trial balloon at the same time designed to test and evaluate the reaction of Russian officials; (3) an unofficial outlining of ways and means to Russia by which the present diplomatic deadlock can be broken and the "cold war" ended; (4) a decisive portrayal in substance of what can be expected in our foreign policy of the future; or (5) an adroit combination, subject to change itself, of all the above factors.

In any event and irrespective of the soundness or unsoundness of Kennan's ideas, this article appears to be an important statement on a vital subject, worthy of the attention and thought of all government officials.

ACTION:

This review and analysis is for your information.

C. E. Hennrich

December 4, 1951

W. A. Branigan

WILLIAM YANDELL ELLIOTT  
ESPIONAGE - R

GEORGE KENNAN  
ESPIONAGE - R

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-11-81 BY SP4JRM/TCY

PURPOSE

To advise you of allegations made by [redacted] to the effect that William Yandell Elliott and George Kennan are Soviet espionage agents, and to further advise you that [redacted] is presently confined in a private mental institution in Philadelphia.

To recommend that the attached letter be forwarded to the Philadelphia Office, instructing that office to follow this matter and to interview [redacted] at such time as her physical condition will permit a rational interview.

To recommend that no dissemination be made of this information to the Department of State and the National Security Resources Board.

BACKGROUND

By letter dated November 2nd, the Philadelphia Office advised that on October 19, 1951, [redacted] an attorney who resides in Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, called at the Philadelphia Office and advised that his wife, [redacted]

[redacted] has been employed as [redacted] and [redacted]

[redacted] with [redacted] and that she has held various other positions in the Federal Government during the past ten years, during which time she has been associated with William Yandell Elliott, a Political Scientist Professor from Harvard University.

[redacted] is presently confined at [redacted] a private mental institution in Philadelphia.

According to [redacted] his wife contacted him by telephone a few weeks ago, at which time she was in a highly emotional state and related a story involving Elliott and alleging that he was a Russian espionage agent. [redacted] immediately

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
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Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

65-60512

Attachment

65 DEC 27 1951

CC 65-81548

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arranged to contact his wife and to have a family physician at the residence at the time that he returned home with her.

[redacted] was in a state of near hysteria and related a disjointed story concerning her suspicions of Elliott and his espionage activities. She further expressed suspicions of George Kennan, former Russian Affairs expert in the U.S. Department of State, and indicated that Kennan was likewise under the influence of the Russians and was performing espionage activities against the United States Government.

[redacted] was examined at this point by Dr. Claude E. Richardson of Yeakon, Pennsylvania, who recommended psychiatric treatment for [redacted]. Immediately thereafter, Dr. Gabriel Schwarz of Philadelphia, a psychiatrist, examined [redacted] and recommended her confinement to a mental institution for treatment.

During the course of her conversation, [redacted] confessed to her husband that she had been living [redacted] for the past twenty years. [redacted] advised interviewing Agents of the Philadelphia Office that he is quite certain his wife had not carried on [redacted] and that her suspicions concerning Elliott and Kennan are delusions resulting from a mental disturbance from which she is now suffering.

He advised, however, that his wife desired to be interviewed by a Bureau Agent in order that she could relate in detail all information concerning her association with Elliott and Kennan. Dr. Schwarz, the psychiatrist, according to [redacted] is of the opinion that the allegations made by [redacted] were without foundation and agreed that it would be entirely satisfactory for an Agent of the Bureau to interview her.

On October 27, 1951, Dr. Gabriel Schwarz advised the Philadelphia Office that [redacted] had requested that she be interviewed by an Agent of the Bureau so that she could report information of a security nature. He stated that after several shock treatments, [redacted] no longer told the bizarre story [redacted] with Elliott and his alleged status as an espionage agent.

Dr. Schwarz stated that he believed that [redacted] preoccupation with the security of the National Government was simply a manifestation of her mental disease and had no basis in fact. He added, however, that in the most disillusionment systems there is the possibility that the obsessions may have

some factual basis, and for that reason he believed [redacted] should be interviewed.

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[redacted] was interviewed on October 27, 1951, at which time, according to the letter from Philadelphia, she greeted the Agent cordially but appeared to be in a dazed condition. She made a lengthy and deliberate examination of the Agent's credentials, and finally said, "Well the man's name is William Yonell Elliott; he is one of Charlie Wilson's assistants in Washington, D. C." This was the only complete sentence uttered by [redacted] during the entire interview.

Through tactful questioning, an effort was made to draw out information regarding espionage activities on the part of Elliott and Kennan, but no information was obtained from [redacted] along the lines of previous allegations of espionage activities on the part of Elliott and Kennan. [redacted] in a disappointed statement, alleged that Elliott had been in Russia in the 1930's but since then has not returned to Europe. She described him as a reliable, liberty-loving citizen, and the type of man who was definitely needed by the United States Government.

An evaluation of the interview with [redacted] made by the Philadelphia Office indicates that [redacted] may have at some time [redacted] Elliott and that she desired that Elliott be interviewed in order that he might be embarrassed by a reference [redacted] which existed with [redacted]. In this connection, it is to be noted that [redacted] was employed under the supervision of William Yonell Elliott, by the [redacted] from 1941 until 1945.

The Philadelphia Office has advised that until such time as the mental condition of [redacted] is improved, further interview with her will be of no avail.

Referral/Consult

[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] Copies of the reports in this investigation were furnished to the National Security Resources Board on October 17, 1951. No information developed during the course of this investigation which reflected any subversive tendencies on the part of William Yonell Elliott, who is identical with William Yonell Elliott referred to in this case. (110-5567)

With respect to George Kennan, Bureau file 62-91540, reflects that Kennan is a career Minister of the Department of State and was a Bureau contact at the Department of State.

He is presently on leave of absence without pay according to the current Foreign Service List, (October 1, 1951).

(62-91540)



There is no information in the Bureau's files indicating that George Kennan is pro-Russian.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In view of the above facts, it is recommended that no dissemination be made of this information to the National Security Resources Board or to the Department of State, and it is further recommended that the attached letter be forwarded to the Philadelphia Office instructing the Philadelphia Office to determine the physical condition of [redacted] at the end of a sixty day period, and to arrange to reinterview her at such time as, in the opinion of her physician, she has returned to a rational mental state.

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SAC, Philadelphia (65-4626)

December 6, 1951

Director, FBI (65-60512)

WILLIAM YANDELL ELLIOTT  
ESPIONAGE - R

GEORGE KENNAN  
ESPIONAGE - R

Reference is made to your letter dated November 2, 1951, entitled "William Yandell Elliott, Espionage - R." For your information, Bureau files reflect that William Yandell Elliott is identical with William Yandell Elliott, a former professor at Harvard University, and present employee of the National Security Resources Board. For your information, Bureau files fail to reflect any information which tends to give credence to allegations made by [redacted] concerning William Yandell Elliott and George Kennan. However, the Bureau desires that you arrange to maintain contact with the physician presently treating [redacted] and that her condition be ascertained during the next sixty days, in order that an interview may be conducted with her at such times when she appears to have recovered from her mental illness.

In connection with the allegations made by [redacted] relative to William Yandell Elliott and George Kennan, it should be noted that both of these individuals are presently employed by the United States Government. It is, therefore, desired that you place appropriate steps to be notified in the event [redacted] becomes rational in order that she may be interviewed to determine whether there is any factual basis for the allegations made by her during the period of her mental illness. No further investigation is desired at this time.

WAA:ljb:njf

cc - 62-81548

cc - 118-5547

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-11-81 BY SP4 gmm/TCY

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
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Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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101 DEC 18 1951

DUPLICATE YELLOW

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December 27, 1951

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-14-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
E 410933

Honorable George Kennan  
Institute of Advanced Studies  
Princeton University  
Princeton, New Jersey

My dear Mr. Kennan:

On the occasion of your prospective nomination to the position of Ambassador to Russia I want to take this opportunity to extend my heartiest congratulations. Following your extensive career in the service of your country, it must be a source of great satisfaction to be named to this highly important office.

If there is any way in which my associates or I can be of assistance in connection with your new duties, please do not hesitate to call upon us. You have our best wishes for your continued success and happiness.

With kindest regards, RECORDED - 44

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

CC - Mr. Keay

NOTE: The Liaison Section advised that Mr. Kennan was formerly with the Embassy at Moscow for 5 years. Upon his return to the U. S. he came to the FBI for a panel discussion of Russian activities. He was later made head of the planning group of the State Department. During his tenure of office in this capacity he had a weekly session with the FBI liaison representative and briefed him on the inside story of that Department's activities. The Bureau in turn made available confidential information to him. There is no known information which might preclude a letter of congratulations in this instance. Outgoing address per the mail room of the State Department.

RBC:urh:mrh

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Gandy

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 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## Reds Accept George Kennan As U. S. Envoy

White House Announces  
Nomination of Expert  
As Pravda Blasts Him

President Truman announced early last night that George F. Kennan, credited with originating the American policy of "containment" of Russia, would be nominated as Ambassador to Moscow.

Although the official Communist Party organ, Pravda, renewed a running Russian attack on Kennan as late as yesterday, his appointment has been officially agreed to by the Kremlin. White House press secretary Joseph Short told reporters at Independence, Mo., that—in accordance with invariable diplomatic practice—Mr. Truman had asked Russia for formal acceptance of the intended envoy, and had received it.

Kennan, on leave from the State Department for more than a year, succeeds Ambassador Alan G. Kirk, to whose resignation President Truman "reluctantly agreed to accede," Short said.

Not yet 48, Kennan has long been recognized as the State Department's foremost authority on Russia. Almost half of his life has been devoted to its study. He outlined his now famous "containment" policy in an originally anonymous article in the periodical "Foreign Affairs" in 1947.

A graduate of Princeton in 1925, Kennan entered the service

See KENNAN, Page 2, Column 3

KENNAN—From Page 1

## Reds Accept George Kennan

the next year and subsequently had two long assignments in Moscow, as counselor of Embassy under both W. Averell Harriman and W. Bedell Smith. He was director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff from May, 1947, until January 1, 1950. From August 4, 1949, until September 2, 1950, he served as Counselor of the Department.

He went on extended leave to work at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton, N. J., and later became president of the Ford Foundation's East European fund. It was for his work in that capacity, from which he resigned last month that he was attacked yesterday in Pravda.

A correspondent of the Communist organ in the United States wrote a dispatch noting Kennan's position in the fund and said that it was fostering "underground activity of various anti-Soviet agents and the conduct of subversive anti-Soviet propaganda."

Word of Kennan's prospective appointment leaked out last month. Asked about it, President Truman said he thought Kennan would make a good ambassador to Moscow and "ought to know his way around" there.

Short said no date had yet been set for Kirk to step down and for Kennan's nomination to be sent to the Senate. He said, however, that Kirk would return to this country after finishing his present assignment as an adviser to the American delegation at the current U.N. General Assembly meeting in Paris.

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DATE 10-27-91 BY SP4 BJA/DFG

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Page

Times-Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 Wash. Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_  
 Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_  
 N.Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
 N.Y. Compass \_\_\_\_\_

Date: 12-28-51

62-81548-11  
ENCLOSURE

ed to Kennan - memo  
12-27-51  
ABC

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

January 10, 1952

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Dear Mr. Hoover:

It was very kind of you to send me your letter of December 27, and I greatly appreciate your thoughtfulness.

You will know, I am sure, that I have no illusions about what I may be able to accomplish in my assignment to Moscow; but I am going to have to do my best to live up to the expressions of confidence which so many people have sent me.

I am grateful for your offer of assistance, and I will surely remember it.

With all good wishes,

Very sincerely,

*George Kennan*  
George Kennan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-27-98 BY SP4BJA/DFW

# 410933

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
United States Department of Justice,  
Washington 25, D. C.

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1162-81548-12

JAN 25 1952

EX-140

59 FEB 1 1952

RECEIVED  
JAN 14 1952

SAC, Memphis

February 9, 1952

Director, FBI

GEORGE F. KENNAN  
RESEARCH (CRIME RECORD.)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-14-99 BY SP4BJA/DPW  
D 410933

EX-164

RECORDED - 59

62-81548-13

Enclosed for your information is a copy of an anonymous communication received at the Bureau and postmarked January 28, 1952, at Memphis, Tennessee. You will note that the writer of this letter indicates she has been in touch with your office and contemplates contacting the St. Louis Office. The individual to whom she refers is evidently Mr. George F. Kennan, who was recently named U. S. Ambassador to Russia.

Your office and the St. Louis Office are requested to identify this correspondent, if you can readily do so from your recollection or records, so that the Bureau may be guided in any possible future contacts with her.

cc - St. Louis, with copy of incoming.

Follow-up made 2/25/52.

TEB:vm:prl

Action killed per  
Memphis memo dated 2-13-52  
and St. Louis memo dated  
2-15-52

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Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

FEB 11 1952  
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1000  
FEB 11 1952

HANDLED BY  
STOP DESK

TRUE COPY

daddy I am up town. I went to the F.B.I. office here. to see if - Means - could - remember - if George F. Kennan has all ready left america for russia.

daddy he wanted to know my name so I gave him my married name. /not my single name/ of course when I return to St-Louis I will use my single name. and something else I wanted daddy I would have - liked - to have the memphis press when I - got- to St Louis so I would not have to miss any addition of it. because the press - gives - more details about what I want to know. I though maybe that I - might - Could have it sent to Hastedder in in St - Louis and I could get it from there. - but - just as it has been from the start that - I - have tried to learn any - details- from any one. No one just does not seem to know. that kind of /stuff/ is the - cause - of this Country being in such of a helluva fix as it is.

I thought that /if/ I ask Means if he Could remember if Kennan has all ready gone to russia. /that/ I might not have to wait 3 days to /know/ the answers I need. /I mean to wait 3 days to hear from you./

Now daddy I want to know these two questions.

1st. has George F. Kennan all ready gone to Russia?  
2nd. did George F. Kennan sign his /name/ to these articles he wrote in Foreign affairs magazine?  
are did he /Kennan/ just sign X to the articles?

Oh. Darling I love you.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-14-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

# 410933

*(Handwritten signature)*

anonymous

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-14-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
#410933

ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION  
KEEP ENVELOPE AS IS

Daddy I am up town. I went to the  
F.B.I. office here to see if <sup>MEANS</sup> - means - could  
- remember - if George I <sup>KENNAN</sup> ~~has~~ has all ready  
left america for russia.

Daddy he wanted to know my name so I  
gave him my married name / not my single name /  
Of course when I return to St-Louis I will  
use my single name. and something else I wanted  
Daddy ~~was~~ I would have liked to have  
the memphis press when I got to St-Louis so  
I would not have to miss any edition of it.  
because the press - gives - more details about  
what I want to know. I thought maybe that I  
- might - could have it sent to Hastedder in  
in St-Louis and I could get it from there.  
- but - just as it has been from the start  
that - I - have tried to learn any - details -  
from any one. no one just does not seem to know.  
that kind of / stuff / is the - cause - of this  
Country being in such of a helluva fix as it  
is.

I thought that [if] I ask <sup>EX-164</sup> means if he could remember  
if Kennan has all ready gone to russia / (that)  
I might not have to wait <sup>RECORDED - 59</sup> 3 days to hear from  
the <sup>let to the Memphis</sup> <sup>2/1/52</sup> <sup>TEB</sup> <sup>4726</sup>  
you.)

HANDLED BY  
STOP DESK  
1/20/51

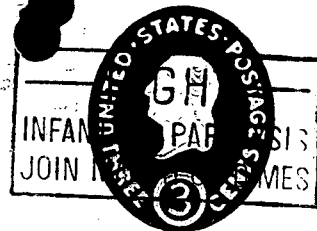


now daddy I want to know these two questions.

- 1st. has George F. Kennan already gone to Russia?
- 2nd. did George F. Kennan sign his (name) to these articles he wrote in Foreign affairs magazine?  
are did he (Kennan) just sign X to the articles?

Oh, Darling I love you.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-14-99 BY SP4 BJA/DFW  
II 410933



Mr. J. Edgar Hoover

F.B.I.

Washington

Jan 30 1962  
D.C.

Director, FBI (65-60512)

2/28/52

SAC, Philadelphia (65-4656)

WILLIAM YANDELL ELLIOTT

SPECIAL AGENT - R

CHARLES WILLIAM

SPECIAL AGENT - R

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-11-81 BY SP4JCM/TCY

Rebulet 12/6/51.

[redacted] Media, Pa., advised on 2/21/52 that his wife [redacted] had left for the [redacted] but that her mental condition is still serious and she is confined to their home, [redacted] Baltimore, Pa., under the constant care of Dr. GABRIEL SCHWARZ. [redacted] advised that Dr. SCHWARZ has stated that although the prognosis of [redacted] case is "favorable but most guarded," the pattern of delusional material is still present and an interview with her, at this time, would cause a recurrence of these delusions and would be definitely prejudicial to his client.

Because of this, [redacted] stated that an interview with his wife is not possible at this time. He stated that he does not believe that an interview should be conducted until her mental condition is such that the progress she has made toward recovering her sanity will not be jeopardized by it.

[redacted] attitude was most cooperative. He is aware of our desire to re-interview his wife and promised to notify this office when her mental health is fully restored and it is safe to talk to her again. Since it appears that [redacted] will not be rational and available for interview for quite some time, this matter will be carried in a Pending Inactive status UNCL.

JH/tgn

cc:65-4626

62-81548

65-81548

NOT RECORDED

MAR 3 1952

RECEIVED NO SEVEN

ORIGINAL FILED IN

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Memphis (62-0)

SUBJECT: GEORGE F. KENNAN  
RESEARCH (CRIME RECORDS)

DATE: 2/13/52

ReBulet dated February 8, 1952, requesting information as to the identity of the person who addressed a letter to the Bureau concerning GEORGE F. KENNAN.

The identity of this individual is [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Memphis, Tennessee. She called at this office and requested information as to whether "Mr. KENNAN" had left for Russia and many other unrelated questions. She appeared to be psychopathic and was completely incoherent in her conversation.

b6  
b7C

CC St. Louis

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DATE 7-14-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

410933

EXPEDITE PROCESSING.

FEB 21 1952

AIM: MEN

RECORDED - 160

INDEXED - 160

FEB 18 1952

62-81548-14

EX-831

CRIME REC.

64 APR 2 1952

Make Card—

A Psychopathic  
Corresp

and made  
3-15-52  
JL

3-14-52

die

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: February 15, 1952

FROM : SAC, St. Louis

SUBJECT: GEORGE F. KENNAN  
RESEARCH (CRIME RECORDS)

Refer Bureau letter 2-8-52 to Memphis.

I am unable to identify by recollection or records, the writer of the letter referred to in Bureau communication.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-14-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

IL 410933

DSH:mlm

cc: Memphis

RECORDED - 160

MAR 19 1952

12

64 APR 2 1952

*62-81548-15*

*no action - see Memphis memo dated 2-14-52*

*John*

*Handwritten initials and marks*

Director, FBI

3/19/52

SAC, Philadelphia (65-4626)

WILLIAM YANDELL ELLIOTT  
ESPIONAGE - R

GEORGE KIRWAN  
ESPIONAGE - R

Reylet 2/28/52.

At 9:20 a.m., 3/12/52, [redacted] Media, Pa., telephonically advised that his wife, [redacted] had asked him the name of the individual who had interviewed her while she was confined to the [redacted] in Philadelphia. [redacted] said that he intended to furnish SA JACK WEST'S name to his wife and explained that [redacted] would be in Philadelphia at a luncheon later that day and wanted to inform the FBI that she plans to make several speeches in the near future. [redacted] advised that his wife's physician had told her that it would be all right for her to make these speeches. [redacted] stated that her physician had advised him that [redacted] is not fully recovered from her mental sickness.

Shortly before noon on 3/12/52, [redacted] appeared at the Philadelphia Office and was interviewed by SAs HERBIE MUSICK and JACK WEST. She stated that the purpose of her visit was to inform this office that she intends to make several speeches in the near future "and wanted us to be advised so that we would not be surprised when we read about them in the newspapers." She stated that her talks would concern American Foreign Policy and would be based on material taken from statements of the Secretary of State and the President. She indicated that she would oppose the foreign policy of the administration.

[redacted] advised that she would speak before the following groups on the days indicated:

[redacted]

[redacted] advised that engagements to give lectures before the above groups had been scheduled prior to her illness last Fall.

JW/tgm

cc:65-4656)

NOT RECORDED

138 MAR 22 1952

34  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-11-81 BY SP4 Jmm/TCY

162-81548  
check with [redacted] - 12

Director, FBI

3/19/52

[redacted] alluded briefly to the subject matter of her previous interview at the time she was in the mental institution. She asserted that there was no factual basis for her allegations against WILLIAM ELLIOTT and assumes that her illness caused her to identify her own security with the security of the United States. She said that ELLIOTT was "overwhelmingly on the side of the Government," and was a man who was undoubtedly loyal and security conscious. She advised that during the time she worked for the Federal Government considerable classified information passed through her hands and that security was uppermost in her mind at all times. [redacted] further advised that she never had any experience during her Government employment which caused her to question the loyalty of any Government employee or anyone else known to her. She stated that she knew no one in the Government who could be considered an actual or potential security risk and reiterated that the allegations made by her during the period of her mental illness have no foundation, in fact.

b6  
b7C

She advised that she resigned her position in the [redacted] [redacted] on [redacted]

During the interview it was noted that [redacted] appeared nervous and tense but was rational and normal in her speech and behavior. It maybe that [redacted] desired to present herself to this office in order that the agent who originally interviewed her could observe that she had recovered her sanity.

During the afternoon of 3/12/52 [redacted] again called this office to determine whether his wife had come in, and was advised that she had visited this office. [redacted] commented that her physician is of the opinion that much of the delusional material which originally caused his wife's mental breakdown is still present. [redacted] also said that he is fairly certain part of his wife's original story [redacted] is true but that her statements of a security nature were totally without foundation.

Inasmuch as it appears that the allegations made by [redacted] against ELLIOTT and KIRWAN during the time she was mentally ill are without foundation; in fact, this matter will be considered closed. UACB.



A. H. Belmont

April 2, 1952

W. A. Branigan

9  
WILLIAM YANDELL ELLIOTT  
ESPIONAGE - R  
(65-60512)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-11-81 BY SP4 Jm/TCY

GEORGE KENNAN  
ESPIONAGE - R  
(62-81548)

PURPOSE:

To advise you that [redacted] a former employee of [redacted] who in October, 1951, made allegations concerning the loyalty of Elliott and Kennan, has advised that her statements were totally without foundation. [redacted] was confined in a private mental institution in Philadelphia shortly after she made statements to the effect that Elliott and Kennan were Soviet agents.

BACKGROUND:

In November, 1951, the Philadelphia Office advised that [redacted] who had been employed as a [redacted] and [redacted] with [redacted] made allegations to the effect that William Yandell Elliott and George Kennan were Soviet agents and were engaged in activities against the best interests of the United States. You will recall that George Kennan is an authority on Russian affairs who has long been associated with the Department of State.

Dr. William Yandell Elliott is identical with William Yandell Elliott who is presently associated with the National Security Resources Board.

Shortly after the allegations were made by [redacted] concerning the Soviet connections of Elliott and Kennan, she was confined to [redacted] a private mental institution in Philadelphia. The Bureau instructed the Philadelphia Office to interview [redacted] as soon as her attending physician determined that she had reached a stage where she might be interviewed without injury to her health.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

WHA:bgs

cc - 118-5547

62-81548  
NOT RECORDED  
14 APR 8 1952

b6  
b7c

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 65-60512-13

On March 12, 1952, [ ] voluntarily appeared at the Philadelphia Office at which time she advised that she was scheduled to make several speeches in the near future and that she intended to oppose the foreign policy of the present administration. Prior to her appearance on March 12, 1952, her husband, [ ] advised the office that his wife planned to appear at the office on that date and that his wife's physician had given his consent for [ ] to make certain speeches although she is not fully recovered from her mental illness.

b6  
b7C

[ ] resigned her position in [ ]  
[ ] on [ ]

She advised agents of the Philadelphia Office that during the time she worked for the Federal Government she handled considerable classified information and security was utmost in her mind at all times. She briefly made reference to the fact that she had made allegations against William Elliott and George Kennan and stated that there was no factual basis for the allegations that these individuals were disloyal.

No dissemination was made of the information originally furnished by [ ] during the time when she was suffering from a mental illness.

RECOMMENDATION:

No further action is being taken in this matter and the above is submitted for information purposes only in view of the prominence of the individuals involved.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE:

FROM : D. M. Ladd *DL*

April 2, 1952

SUBJECT: GEORGE F. KENNAN,  
U. S. Ambassador to Moscow

Tolson	
Ladd	
Clegg	
Glavin	
Nichols	
Rosen	
Tracy	
Harbo	
Belmont	
Mohr	
Tele. Room	
Nease	
Gandy	

*Mr. Kennan* contacted Mr. Roach this morning and advised he is being sworn in today as U. S. Ambassador, and will be in Washington tomorrow. He desires to pay a courtesy call on you before he departs. Mr. Roach advised Mr. Kennan that his request would be passed on to you and he would be informed whether you had a free moment.

If you desire to see Mr. Kennan, and will indicate the most desirable time tomorrow, he will be so informed.

RRR:csb

*I can see him at  
A.M. or later  
more convenient  
him.*

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DATE 10-28-98 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
# 410933

RECORDED - 159

APR 8 1952

*hot to Kennan  
4-4-52*

76 APR 11 1952

*File*

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. D. M. Ladd *DL*  
 FROM : A. H. Belmont *AB*  
 SUBJECT: GEORGE F. KENNAN,  
 U.S. AMBASSADOR TO MOSCOW

DATE: April 2, 1952

*VPR* *V*

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Belmont	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

Mr. George F. Kennan, newly appointed U.S. Ambassador to Moscow, called Mr. Roach this morning and stated that he desired the Bureau to know that as a part of his official duties before leaving on his new assignment, it would be necessary for him to call upon the Russian Ambassador in Washington and the Chief Soviet Delegate to the United Nations before he left on his trip to Moscow.

Mr. Kennan stated that he plans to have lunch with Soviet Ambassador Panyushkin tomorrow, April 3, 1952, and that he will meet with Jacob Malik, Soviet Delegate to the United Nations, at a later date.

Mr. Kennan stated that he desired to have this matter called to the Director's attention ~~so~~ that he would know the reasons for his contact with Panyushkin and Jacob Malik.

ACTION:

None. This memorandum is prepared for your information.

*2* *ABR:JLM*

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 DATE 10-28-98 BY SP4 BJA/DFW  
 4 410933

RECORDED - 162

EX - 47

162-81548-17

APR 5 1952

13

61 APR 18 1952 *for*

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

April 7, 1952

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. Ladd ✓  
Mr. Nichols ✓  
Mr. Belmont ✓  
Mr. Clegg ✓  
Mr. Glavin ✓  
Mr. Harbo ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tracy ✓  
Mr. Laughlin ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Mr. Holloman ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I appreciate very much your taking the trouble to send me  
your kind note of April 4. *W 19*

I am happy to have had the opportunity to meet you and to  
keep in touch with you during these years that I have been at  
home, and it will be a source of strength to me in Moscow to  
know that I have your good wishes in this difficult work.

With warmest personal regards,

Very sincerely,

*George F. Kennan*  
George F. Kennan

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DATE 7-14-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
# 410933

EX - 28

RECORDED - 71

62-81548-18  
APR 16 1952

The Honorable  
J. Edgar Hoover,  
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
United States Department of Justice,  
Washington 25, D. C.

F93  
69 APR 24 1952

EXPEDITE PROCESSING  
FOUR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 10-28-98 BY SP4BSA/DFW  
410933

April 4, 1952

Honorable George F. Kennan  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey

My dear Mr. Ambassador:

The very definite intentions I had for a discussion with you while you were in Washington were rather suddenly exploded by the fast-moving events of yesterday surrounding the Attorney General's resignation.

I am very sorry it was not possible for us to get together on this occasion as I was looking forward to talking with you before you depart on your new assignment. If it becomes necessary for you to leave for abroad before I have the opportunity to talk to you, may I take this occasion to wish you every success in your new duties.

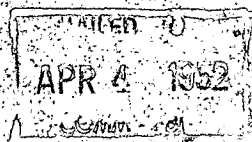
If at any time you feel that we in the Bureau can be of assistance to you in the performance of your duties, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

Sincerely yours

J. Edgar Hoover

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RRR:ld



RECORDED - 51

APR 8 1952  
86

64 APR 23 1952

EX - 69

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
APR 4 12 51 PM '52  
DIRECTOR

162-81548-19

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: October 3, 1952

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: SOVIET REQUEST TO RECALL AMBASSADOR  
GEORGE F. KENNAN FROM MOSCOW

Olson	_____
Ladd	_____
Clegg	_____
Glavin	_____
Nichols	_____
Rosen	_____
Tracy	_____
Harbo	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Nease	_____
Gandy	_____

The Soviet Union today issued a note in Moscow informing the American Government that U. S. Ambassador George F. Kennan is declared persona non grata and asked this Government to immediately recall him from the Soviet Union. The Soviet note (copy attached) states that on September 19 at Tempelhof Airport in Berlin, Kennan made a statement before representatives of the West Berlin press and American correspondents in which he made slanderous attacks hostile to the Soviet Union in a rude violation of generally recognized norms of international law. They stated that Ambassador Kennan compared the situation of Americans in Moscow with that which he experienced in 1941-1942 while interned by the Nazis in Germany. The Soviets continued by stating that the statement made by Mr. Kennan is completely false and hostile to the Soviet Union.

In a press conference this afternoon the Secretary of State denied the allegations made by the Soviets and advised that the Government of the United States does not accept as valid the charges made by the Soviets. The Secretary's press release (copy attached) continues to state that the facts as reported by the Soviets are false and that the statements of Kennan were in fact true. The Department of State release concludes by stating, "The Soviet Government will be informed of this conclusion" (the reasons why the Soviet statements are untrue). Ambassador Kennan is presently in Geneva, Switzerland, and according to the Department of State, will remain in Western Europe for a short time and will later return to Washington for consultation.

2 ENC. The Department of State has not as yet determined what action, if any, will be taken against the Soviet Ambassador in the United States.

ACTION:

RECORDED - 26

62-81548-20

OCT. 8 1952

EX-3  
This matter will be followed, and you will be kept informed of pertinent developments.

RRR:lw

Attachments (2)

67 OCT 21 1952

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DATE 10-28-91 BY SP4 BJA/afw

6-410933

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

G. I. R. 3

Roach  
 Watson

(KENNAN)

NEW YORK--GEORGE KENNAN, AMBASSADOR TO MOSCOW, REFUSED COMMENT WHEN HE ARRIVED HERE TODAY ON THE RUSSIANS DECLARING HIM "PERSONNA NON GRATA." KENNAN, ONE OF 970 PASSENGERS ON THE LINER AMERICA, WAS ACCOMPANIED BY HIS WIFE AND TWO YOUNGEST CHILDREN.

"IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT IN THE VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT I AM STILL AMBASSADOR TO THE SOVIET UNION," HE SAID.

HE WILL GO TO WASHINGTON FRIDAY TO REPORT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE AFTER A TRIP TO HIS COUNTRY HOME NEAR YORK, PA. THE 48-YEAR-OLD DIPLOMAT ADMITTED THE RUSSIAN ACTION CAME AS A SURPRISE TO HIM, BUT HE ADDED THAT HE PLANNED TO GO ON BEING A CAREER DIPLOMAT.

"I WILL BE AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE NEW PRESIDENT JUST AS I HAVE BEEN TO THIS ONE," KENNAN SAID.

HE SAID THAT HE WAS COMING HOME AT THE REQUEST OF SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN ACHESON FOR CONSULTATION.

REFERRING TO HIS OUSTER FROM HIS MOSCOW POST, KENNAN SAID, "THE SECRETARY OF STATE MADE A STATEMENT ON THIS MATTER, AND I HAVE NOTHING TO ADD."

11/11--GE223P

100-81548-A  
 NOT RECORDED  
 98 NOV 19 1952

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DATE 10-28-98 BY SP4 BJA/DFW

U 410933

63 NOV 21 1952

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. LADD

DATE: November 18, 1952

FROM : A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR GEORGE F. KENNAN

Tolson

Ladd

Nichols

Belmont

Mohr

Nease

Rosen

Tracy

Mohr

Tele. Rm.

Nease

Gandy

*quick*

*by 6-1*

*Roach*

Mr. Roach saw Ambassador George F. Kennan today for a short while. Mr. Kennan stated that he would like to drop in and pay a call on the Director as soon as he becomes somewhat settled. Kennan stated that he is now commuting between Washington and his home near York, Pennsylvania, and that on one of his trips to Washington he would like to take the liberty of dropping in at the Bureau to see the Director. Mr. Roach informed Ambassador Kennan that his request would be called to the Director's attention. Ambassador Kennan gave no indication as to the date that he would next be in Washington.

## ACTION:

None. For information.

RRP:fjb

*ADDENDUM - 11\*24* The Director has indicated that he will be glad to see Ambassador Kennan.

*Reminder*

*jpd*

RECORDED - 65  
EX-102

62-81548-21

NOV 26 1952

70 DEC 8 1952

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DATE 10-26-94 BY SP4 BSH/DFC  
3-40433

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *ABZ*

DATE: January 21, 1953

FROM : V. P. KENNAN *VPK*

SUBJECT: GEORGE KENNAN

per letter dated 5-23-01 SP4BJA/DFW  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-28-98 BY SP4BJA/DFW

# 410933

Tolson	✓
Ladd	✓
Nichols	✓
Belmont	✓
Clegg	✓
Glavin	✓
Harbo	✓
Rosen	✓
Tracy	✓
Laughlin	✓
Mohr	✓
Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Rm.	✓
Holloman	✓
Gandy	✓

As you know, Kennan has been a prominent Department of State official for several years. In his most recent post as Ambassador to Russia he was declared persona non grata by the Soviet Government. A few days ago he made a speech, the theme of which has been interpreted as being in direct opposition to the views of John Foster Dulles. Kennan clearly indicated that he was against any aggressive moves which might be taken by the U. S. Government and he continued to uphold his well-known "containment" policy.

Referral/Consult

ACTION:

None. For your information.

SJP:1 *[Signature]*

RECORDED-14

EX.

62-81548-22  
JAN 23 1953

JAN 29 1953

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Laughlin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-28-98 BY SP4 BJA/DFW

# 410933

RELEASE AT 9:00 P.M. EST)  
 (KENNAN)

SCRANTON, PA.--GEORGE F. KENNAN, U.S. AMBASSADOR RECENTLY KICKED OUT OF RUSSIA, ASSERTED THAT UNCHECKED INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES ARE "PLAYING VERY DANGEROUSLY INTO THE HANDS" OF THE KREMLIN.

HE SAID IT SHOULD BE A RELATIVELY SIMPLE MATTER FOR THE COMMUNISTS TO SPREAD MALICIOUS RUMORS ABOUT ANY PERSON THEY WANT REMOVED FROM GOVERNMENT SERVICE AND HAVE HIM OUSTED. THE THOUGHT, HE SAID, MUST BE CAUSE FOR REJOICING IN MOSCOW.

"AS THINGS STAND TODAY, I CAN SEE NO REASON WHY MALICIOUS PEOPLE SHOULD HAVE ANY PARTICULAR DIFFICULTY IN RENDERING UNAVAILABLE FOR SERVICE TO THIS COUNTRY ALMOST ANY PERSONS WHOM THEY MIGHT SELECT FOR THIS TREATMENT," HE SAID. "ALL THAT IS NECESSARY IS TO RELEASE A SPATE OF RUMORS AND GOSSIP AND DEMANDS FOR INVESTIGATION."

KENNAN MADE THE STATEMENT IN AN ADDRESS PREPARED FOR A DINNER MEETING AT THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE BAR ASSOCIATION. IT WAS HIS FIRST DETAILED ACCOUNT OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS SINCE THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT DECLARED HIM "PERSONA NON GRATA."

KENNAN LISTED A SET OF PRINCIPLES WHICH HE SAID SHOULD BE ADOPTED BY AMERICANS TO MAKE THEIR STRUGGLE WITH RUSSIA A SUCCESS. ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THOSE, HE SAID, IS UNITY.

TO DEVELOP PROPER UNITY, KENNAN SAID, "THERE MUST BE A MARKED CHANGE IN THE TONE AND TEMPER OF PUBLIC LIFE OVER WHAT IT HAS BEEN IN THE PAST PERIOD... PARTICULARLY IN THE TREATMENT OF THESE QUESTIONS OF CIVIC LOYALTY THAT ARE SO CLOSELY BOUND UP WITH THE COMMUNIST PROBLEM."

THE STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL SAID THIS IS A DELICATE SUBJECT AND HE IS LIKELY TO BE CRITICIZED "BY IMPASSIONED ELEMENTS IN OUR PRESS AND PUBLIC" FOR STATING HIS IDEAS.

"BUT," HE SAID, "IT IS TOO IMPORTANT TO PASS BY IN ANY DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEMS I AM TALKING ABOUT TONIGHT."

KENNAN SAID THAT 20 YEARS AGO HE AND OTHERS CONCERNED WITH SOVIET MATTERS WERE AFRAID THE AMERICAN PUBLIC WOULD NOT GUARD CAREFULLY ENOUGH AGAINST COMMUNIST INFILTRATION INTO GOVERNMENT.

BUT TODAY, HE SAID, HIS WORRY IS JUST THE OPPOSITE--"THAT THROUGH EXAGGERATING THE DIMENSIONS OF THIS DANGER AND FAILING TO PUT IT INTO PROPER PERSPECTIVE WITH THE OTHER PROBLEMS BEFORE US WE MAY BE CREATING WEAKNESSES IN OUR SOCIETY GREATER THAN ANYTHING COMMUNIST PENETRATION ITSELF EVER WAS LIKELY TO ACHIEVE."

HIS PRINCIPLES OF GUIDANCE ALSO URGED AMERICA TO BE STRONG SO ITS WORDS WILL BE RESPECTED. COOL-HEADED AND DELIBERATE. PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE AT STRATEGIC TIMES AND NOT TO BE TOO IMPATIENT IN THE FIELD OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

1/16--N741P

162-81548-A

68 FEB 4 1953

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

JAN 30 1953

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : D. M. Ladd

~~SECRET~~

DATE: January 22, 1953

FROM : A. H. Belmont

Tolson	_____
Ladd	_____
Clegg	_____
Glavin	_____
Nichols	_____
Rosen	_____
Tracy	_____
Harbo	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Nease	_____
Gandy	_____

SUBJECT: GEORGE KENNAN  
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING  
(ESPIONAGE - R)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

SYNOPSIS:

Confidential Source [ ] advised on 1-15-53 that before George Kennan assumed his post as Ambassador to Moscow, he made a confidential report on his views of the USSR. This report was obtained by the Soviets, and it was reported that the indiscretion had been committed by Nicholls, an Attache of the British Embassy, Moscow. Confidential Source [ ] also states it is certain that copies of Kennan's report are in the hands of British Intelligence. Although information from this source cannot be disseminated per Mr. Ladd's instructions, it is recommended that we disseminate this information to the State Department in paraphrased form and obtain any information State has on this matter. No dissemination to the British is recommended in view of the confidential nature of the source and the fact that allegations involve the British.

PURPOSE:

To secure your approval to disseminate information obtained from Confidential Source [ ] to the State Department in paraphrased form and to suggest that we make no dissemination to the British since they are involved in this matter.

BACKGROUND:

In a communication dated 1-15-53 Confidential Source [ ] advised the following information:

"A member of a French agency which receives many reports from abroad."

- "1. Shortly before assuming his post as Ambassador in Moscow, George Kennan, at the request of Dean Acheson, made a confidential report on his views and past experience concerning the USSR. This report fell into the hands of the Soviets and it was reported to a French Counterintelligence agency that the indiscretion had been committed by Nicholls, an attache at the British Embassy in Moscow. His intention it is reported was to discredit the new American Ambassador in Moscow as much as possible, so as to leave a clear field for Sir Alvery Gascoigne in dealing with the Kremlin, chiefly for the economic advantage of the British. The Kennan report,

Attachment 101-101  
ERT:amb

JAN 29 1953

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

10-28-98  
CLASSIFIED BY SP4BIA/afw  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X  
# 410933

~~SECRET~~

along with the Parker book, has been serving as a basis for Radio Moscow's propaganda against Kennan. ~~(S)~~

- "2. It is certain that photo copies of Kennan's confidential report are in the hands of British intelligence. ~~(S)~~
- "3. Another misfortune also befell Mr. Kennan in Moscow. In 1951, while in Paris, Kennan had contacted Jean-Paul David and de Gaulle, as well as representatives of the Polish underground. He believed that he had made these contacts discreetly enough to have remained unobserved; however, when he arrived in Moscow, the Moscow Radio gave an account of his Paris meetings." ~~(S)~~

RECOMMENDATION:

In view of the nature of the information set out in the report of [ ] and since Kennan's report is alleged to have been confidential, it is suggested that we disseminate this information in paraphrased form to the State Department and ascertain from State if this information is true. It is also suggested that we do not disseminate this information to the British since the allegations directly involve the British. ~~(S)~~

b7D

1/26/53  
LETTER NOT  
SENT  
JOS

If you approve, a letter to the State Department is attached.

*[Handwritten signatures]*

1/26/53

MR RAY YLITALO, STATE DEPT, IS HANDLING. HE WILL BRING IT TO ATTENTION OF MR. BARBER, FAR EASTERN DESK, STATE DEPT. FROM HIS (YLITALO'S) COPY OF [ ] REPORT. BUREAU'S INTEREST THEREFORE WILL NOT BE DISCLOSED

*[Handwritten signature]*

~~SECRET~~

*Excluded from Confidentiality Dec 01/3*  
*1/10/53 JH*

SECRET/CONFIDENTIAL U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY  
per OGA letter dated 9-7-00 SP4BJA/DPW  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 16-28-92 BY SP4BJA/DPW *fully*

0416933

US/Soviet Russia

Leak on a Kennan Report

1

4 January 1953

France, Paris

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Referral/Consult  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin

A member of a French agency which receives many reports from abroad.

1. Shortly before assuming his post as Ambassador in Moscow, George Kennan, at the request of Dean Acheson, made a confidential report on his views and past experience concerning the USSR. This report fell into the hands of the Soviets and it was reported to a French Counterintelligence agency that the indiscretion had been committed by Nicholls, an attache at the British Embassy in Moscow. His intention it is reported was to discredit the new American Ambassador in Moscow as much as possible, so as to leave a clear field for Sir Alvery Gascoigne in dealing with the Kremlin, chiefly for the economic advantage of the British. The Kennan report, along with the Parker memo, has been serving as a basis for Radio Moscow's propaganda against Kennan.
2. It is certain that photocopies of Kennan's confidential report are in the hands of British intelligence.
3. Another misfortune also befell Mr. Kennan in Moscow. In 1951, while in Paris, Kennan had contacted Jean-Paul David and de Gaulle, as well as representatives of the Polish underground. He believed that he had made these contacts discreetly enough to have remained unobserved; however, when he arrived in Moscow, the Moscow Radio gave an account of his Paris meetings.

*let state*  
*name add 3/10/53*  
*10/1/53*

~~Multiple Threat~~ from  
within

George [unclear]

no 6-1

G. R. -10

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NOT RECORDED

98 JUL 7 1953

The Single Threat  
from within

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This is a clipping from  
Page 6, 17, 18, 49 of the  
NEW LEADER

Date 6/1/53

Clipped at the Seat of  
Government.

FIVE

W.C. [unclear]  
W.H. [unclear]

79 JUL 20 1953

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6-1-53  
ENCLOSURE

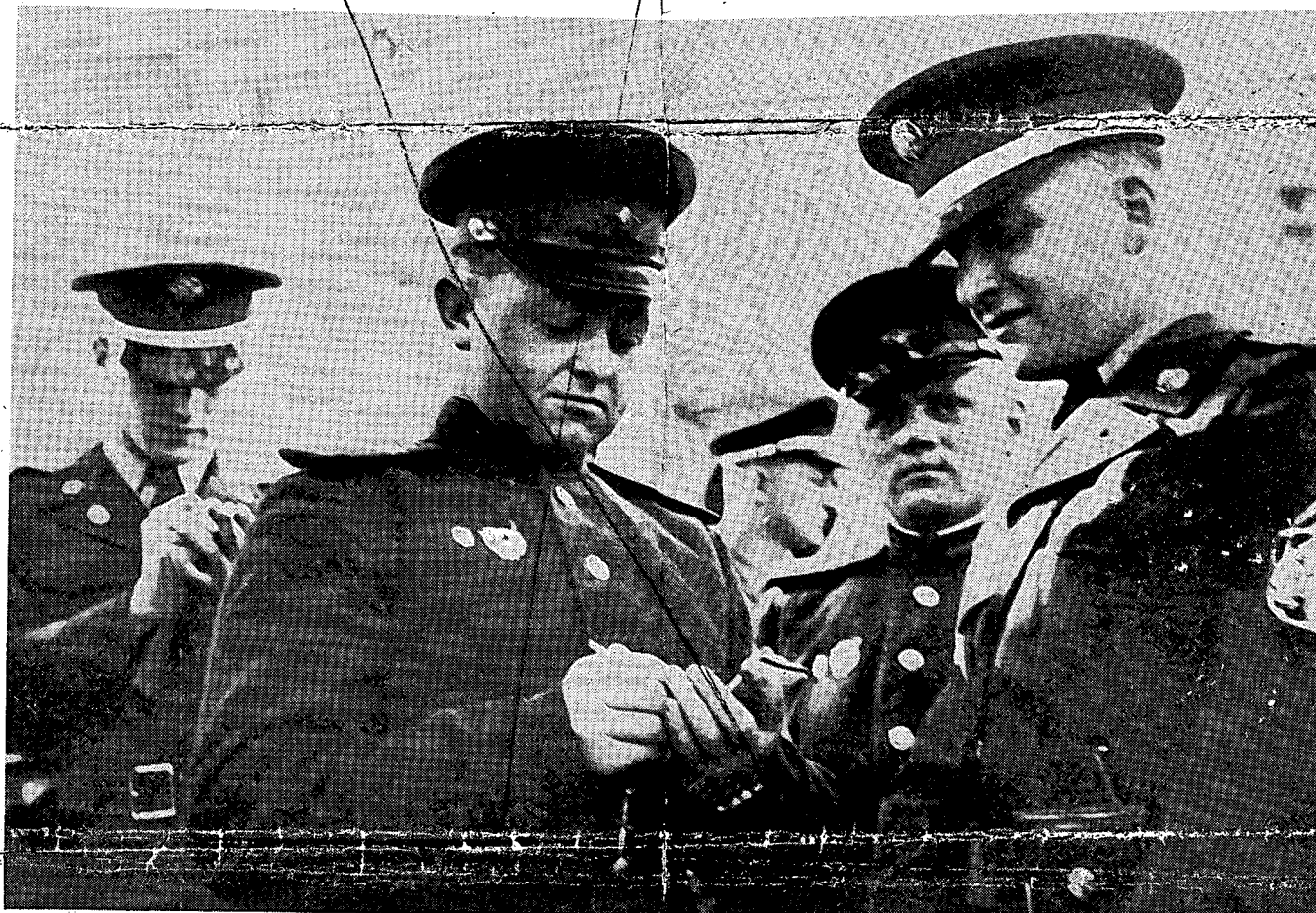
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# the new Leader

THIRTIETH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

## George Kennan: Russia and the West



*Articles by*

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

EDWARD HUNTER

GEORGE CATLIN

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

**AUGUST 24, 1953**

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By George F. Kennan

# RUSSIA and the WEST

*The totalitarian threat reflects  
the weakness of our society*

**E**XTERNAL CONFLICT is nothing new in Russian history. Beginning national life on an exposed plain with few natural barriers or defenses, with no older tradition of political legitimacy, faced with fierce and implacable nomadic enemies, the Russian people have had a national experience punctuated at every point by rivalry, conflict and violence. The wars of Tsarist Russia, like those of most other Continental powers, were primarily with her immediate neighbors. The issue was normally the control of land area and of the human beings resident on it. In this long, painful process, certain personal qualities of the Great Russians (not all of them attractive ones) combined with geographical circumstances and with the impact of external historical developments to enable the Great Russians to make themselves the center of a national state, to take into that state a number of other peoples of different national character, and to extend the power of this political entity to a point where it came to embrace the entire great plain running from the Baltic Sea, the slopes of the Carpathians and the mouths of the Danube in the West to the Altai mountains and (farther north) the shores of the Pacific in the East.

Naturally, in a process as vast as this, conflict was always present. But this conflict was usually of a nature normal to the habits of the locale and the life of the times. Russia's wars were at no time dissimilar, in early centuries, to wars occurring simultaneously among other rulers and political entities. For her neighbors, Russia was a problem, as indeed the neighbors often were for her. For the remaining world, she was hardly more than a fabulous remote principality, from which travelers re-

turned with lurid tales of the barbaric splendor of the court, the squalor and degradation of the people, the monotony of the landscape and the rigors of the climate.

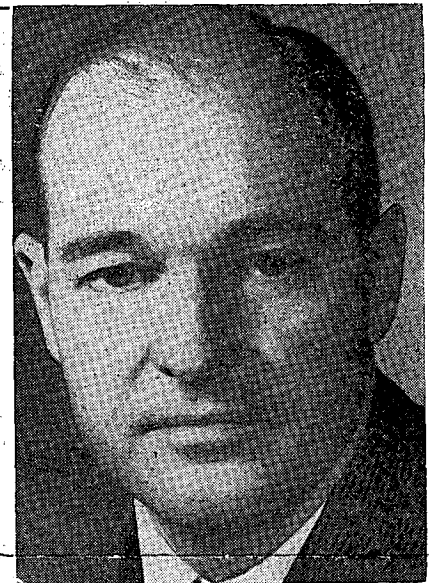
It is true that in these earlier times, particularly in the days of the Grand Duchy of Muscovy [before the sixteenth century—Ed.], many things were noted by foreign observers that seem now, in retrospect, to have had a certain prophetic tinge. Traits were indeed becoming visible in old Muscovy that were destined later to play an important part in the psychological composition of Soviet power. There was a tendency to a messianic concept of Russia's role in history, an intolerance of foreign outlooks and values, a pronounced xenophobia on the part of Russian officialdom, an insistence on isolating the Russian people from foreign contact, a secretiveness and deviousness of diplomatic practice, a seeming inability to understand anything in the nature of a permanently peaceful and equal relationship between states, a tendency to view every treaty of peace as being in the nature of a provisional armistice, a tendency to think of conflict as the normal, peace as the provisional and abnormal.

All these things are, of course, striking when measured against the habits of thought prevalent today in Moscow. Yet, we must remember that many of these features of the early Russian outlook were more common in their own context of time and place than they are today. The tendency to universality of political aspiration, for example, was less startling in a time when the Byzantine Empire was only just disappearing and when the religious wars of the West had not yet reached their climax. What is really strange is not so much that the Grand Duchy of Muscovy should have shown the traits it did in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, but rather that a political regime of the twentieth century should have manifested so powerful an atavistic urge and groped so far back into a largely irrelevant past for its political habits and outlook.

In the intervening Petersburg era—the period of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when Russia began for the first time to emerge into the affairs of Europe in the capacity of a great power—there was less of this sort of thing. During this period, it was primarily in the physical growth of the Russian state rather than in any peculiarities of the official Russian outlook that observant people began to sense the pattern of the future.

True, certain of these peculiarities, reminiscent of old-Muscovite patterns and prophetic of Soviet ones, were not wholly absent during those centuries. It is further true that, as the new Russian intelligentsia reacted with increasing sharpness and skepticism to the powerful Western influence under which much of Russian cultural life had developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there was a return, particularly among the Slavophile philosophers and historians, to a sort of romantic repudiation of Western values, combined with

Few Americans can discuss Russia as authoritatively as George F. Kennan: first, because he has devoted a lifetime of study to Russian civilization; second, because he has served in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow twice, the latter time as Ambassador; finally, because his contempt for totalitarianism in all forms has always been matched by sympathy for its victims. Mr. Kennan's famous article in *Foreign Affairs* in 1947 launched the American policy of resistance to Communism; another article in 1951, "America and the Russian Future," placed the anti-Communist struggle in the perspective of an international civil war, rather than a racial or national rivalry. Both articles, along with other provocative essays, appear in Mr. Kennan's widely circulated book, *American Diplomacy 1900-1950*. The article on these pages is an abridgment of a paper Mr. Kennan delivered at a conference on "The Problem of Soviet Imperialism," sponsored by the School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University. (The proceedings of the conference will be published shortly in book form by the Johns Hopkins Press.) Although Mr. Kennan's recommendations for action can be criticized as unduly cautious, we consider the basic historical analysis in this paper so accurate and objective as to warrant close and thoughtful study by all those concerned with the Communist threat. The cool truth of Mr. Kennan's prose is a deadly antidote to reams and years of propaganda versions of history.



a messianic belief in Russia's own destiny. What seemed to many Russian thinkers to be the decadence of the West—its dreary bourgeois narrowness of thought and behavior—stimulated this sense of repudiation.

But all these things, while faintly prophetic, were not yet really expressive of the East-West relationship as we know it today. This relationship is mainly the product of certain developments of the present century, some of which were, to be sure, of a coincidental nature, but most of which represented the final coming together of great historical movements, bound sooner or later to meet, to impinge on one another and to require mutual accommodation. Let us see what some of these things might be.

The first of these developments was certainly the rounding out of the expansion of the Russian state to a point where further expansion was practically impossible except at the price of conflict with some other great power. Hand in hand with this went the development of Russia into one of the world's major military and industrial powers. It is sometimes forgotten that this was a process well on the way to completion before the Revolution. In the forty years prior to World War I, Russia had been the scene of a fairly stormy industrial development. It seems to me there is reason to suppose that, had this process not been interrupted by wars and revolution, the normal workings of the free-enterprise system would have produced by this time a level of industrial strength in the traditional Russian territory roughly comparable to what we have before us today.

The second of these great historical developments was World War I and its effects both in Russia and the West. So far as Russia is concerned, the outstanding effect was, of course, the capture of power throughout most of traditional Russia by a group of men led by Lenin and inspired by the Marxist ideology as Lenin had developed it.

This meant that Russia had come under the control of men committed to a belief in the unsoundness and iniquity of the social system which, to one degree or another, all the other Western countries maintained and were destined to continue to maintain for a long time in the future. How this curiously twisted and fanatical belief came to find its political home precisely in Russia—a country that fitted very poorly into the Marxist pattern—is another story. It is important to note that this belief on the part of the early Bolshevik leaders was not merely one of detached historical and social interpretation: It was something that involved intimately their own responsibility and actions. The deplorable state of the peoples languishing (as they saw it) under the yoke of capitalism was, for them, not just something to be noted and regretted: It was something they, as good international Marxists, as Leninist-Marxists in particular, had an obligation to do something about. The cause of the proletariat everywhere was their cause. ~~They were the revolutionaries of every country, not just of their own. They challenged the legitimacy and usefulness of every capitalistic government, not just the one under which they happened to have been born.~~

And thus, when these men appropriated to themselves the powers of government in most of the territory known to the world traditionally as "Russia," a new situation was created. With that act, the exercise of internal power in Russia had become associated with a program aiming in effect at the overthrow by force of every Western government and the establishment in power in every Western capital of a violent, embittered, defiant minority group, contemptuous of all real national tradition, challenging most of the accepted national values, hating almost everything their countrymen loved, amenable only to the discipline of the rulers of a foreign state. This was a condition without precedent in modern West-

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

ern history. It represented, from the standpoint of international custom, a retrogressive step: a throw-back to the religious wars of past ages, to the quest for universal secular power in the name of an exclusive and intolerant ideology.

At a happier time, at a time when Western society was in possession of its full strength and health, this sort of program and outlook on the part of the Soviet leaders might merely have been ignored and ridiculed and left to expose itself for the childish impertinence that, in essence, it was. Theoretically, this would have been all the easier in the early days of Soviet power, for the reason that Russia was then undergoing a moment of great physical weakness. The fact that the Marxist-Leninist outlook was associated with the resources of the Russian state added little in those early days to its physical power. The Bolshevik leaders could rant and ~~denounce; they could attempt to sow doubt and dissension~~ in the Western world. But they had little to draw on in the way of physical resources from the territory under their control. And when, in December of 1918, the new Soviet Government appropriated two million rubles for the promotion of world revolution, this naive gesture was actually a revelation of its physical helplessness in the face of the vast task its leaders had marked out for themselves.

Initially, the real difficulty lay not in the control by these men of the resources of an established state but in the fact that they had come to power, armed with this amazing theoretical challenge to the soundness of Western institutions, precisely at a time when the West, generally, was abnormally sick and weak, exhausted and shattered by the terrible effects of World War I, showing on every hand the signs of strain and shock, its confidence shaken in its own traditions and institutions. The war had not only created new dislocations which were poorly understood and affected people with feelings of restlessness and frustration, but it had also exacerbated changes of a long-term nature already in progress in Western society and themselves calling for painful and drastic adjustments.

In the years following the prodigious bloodletting of the First World War, weaknesses and deficiencies stood out all over on the body of Western civilization. It was an easy thing for the Bolsheviks, with their glib and "simpliste" philosophy, to portray as basic weaknesses of the capitalistic system things that were actually direct consequences of the great physical and spiritual debauch that modern war invariably represents, or part of the normal tensions of growth and change, made more crucial and painful by the effects of the war. The sparks thrown out by the Moscow leaders, supported by the emotional vitality of a primitive society, struck fire in many places in the tired, shaken Western world, wherever it was weak or divided or lacking in confidence in itself. In this way, a curious bond was struck between the



Lenin and Trotsky: When they appropriated two million rubles for world revolution, it was a revelation of physical helplessness.

Russian Revolution and the tensions and discontents of Western civilization everywhere.

Previously, the great countries of the West had been left to work out their internal trials largely in their own way, through the free play of indigenous forces, failure and weakness rendering them more vulnerable only against the limited aspirations of Western neighbors. Now, just at a time when the internal tensions were greatest, an external enemy arose—an enemy not created but self-inspired and self-declared—so constituted as to take advantage of every centrifugal tendency, every element of self-doubt, every element of sickness or of weakness in Western civilization.

From that time onward, the germ of Communist oversimplification rode like a malignant bacillus, ever present in the veins of Western society, powerless to disrupt the functioning of the organism so long as health and vigor were present but ready to seize on the slightest ulterior weakness in order to poison, to disintegrate and to kill. From the day of the Russian Revolution, the society of the West came to be haunted by a species of foreign demon, geared to take advantage of every gap between Western ideals and Western performance, implacably determined to make the West be all that it purported to be and live up to its highest pretensions or accept the horror of totalitarian rule by its own criminal elements in the interests of a foreign state.

Miraculously enough, considering the conditions of the Western world in 1918, nowhere except in Russia

herself did society succumb to this demon in those ensuing years. Everywhere in the Western world, even in the new and untried states of Eastern Europe, health and strength proved sufficient to resist the virus. Communist parties remained, but they ceased to constitute in most countries any immediate revolutionary threat; they came more and more to be a sort of traditional fixture of the Western state—a curious receptacle into which there could be poured, decade after decade, all that fringe of the human species that tended by nature to turn against its human environment and to seek fulfillment of its own ego in the defiance of all that others believed and cherished. (Such people always exist; they are a mutation of the species. The presence of real grievances and hardships has only a remote relation to their state of mind. Their trouble is subjective; and if it arises originally in environmental factors, as I suppose it often does, these factors are never—but really never—the ones of which they are conscious, of which they complain and against which they inveigh.)

As the ideological threat of Soviet power declined, the physical strength of the territory and peoples under Soviet rule began to increase. The ravages of the war were gradually overcome. Russia began to resume the march of economic and military development which had been in progress before World War I. In this way, with the passage of the decades, the Soviet leaders moved steadily away from their role as intellectual and political gadflies for the Western countries, and closer to the traditional role of Russian rulers competing for position amid the territorial and military rivalries of the Eastern European and Asiatic areas.

This situation might have existed for many years, and with no greater detriment to world stability than it had involved in the years of the nineteenth century, had World War I really settled the problems over which it was fought. But this was precisely what it failed to do. What people believed to be a settlement was actually only a state of mutual exhaustion.

The war had arisen from a serious element of disunity in Western society. This was the profound disagreement as to the place which the German people, having suddenly emerged on the European scene as a powerful and vigorous national entity, were to have in the European scheme of things. But since the war had failed to lead to any real political settlement on this point (and by that I mean a settlement roughly acceptable to both parties) and had only produced conditions bound to exacerbate the issue, the entire disagreement emerged again in the Thirties in a new, more virulent and more horrible form, in the form of Adolf Hitler and the movement he headed. And in Hitler's aims and methods—marking as they did the

most grievous disunity among the Western nations, attended by a readiness on his part to use force against the others, and coupled with the military weakness of the Western democracies—there lay the historic opportunity of which Moscow could hardly fail to take advantage.

Once the battle was on between Hitler and the Western democracies, neither party in the Western quarrel was strong enough to carry out its purpose completely without Soviet help. The Nazis needed help in the form of the non-aggression pact in the early period; the Western Allies needed help in the form of 180 Soviet divisions in the later phase. For their inability to fight each other without invoking Soviet assistance both sides paid a price. That price was, in large part, the installation of Soviet military and political power over half of Europe in 1945. And there is perhaps a deep historical justice in the fact that that price is being paid today in almost equal measure by the Germans and their Western adversaries in the recent war.

In saying this, I am not seeking to exculpate Hitler and his associates from their heavy responsibility. There could have been no greater betrayal of Western civilization than the mad path on which they embarked in 1938 and 1939. The Nazis confronted the Western powers with the most impossible and tragic of choices. All the hysterical cries and warnings of Goebbels about the Bolshevik menace in the final days of the war could not wipe out this dark responsibility. But the Nazi era was only the last act in a tragic drama that had run through several decades. And for the earlier course of that drama all of us who were prominently involved, and that includes ourselves in the United States, had a share of the blame.

It was Western disunity that brought the Soviets into Europe for the first time as a military power capable of placing a temporary veto on the restoration of hope and stability to the European scene. Likewise, it was the tragedy of the Western impact on Asia—the long record of superficiality and selfishness and pretentiousness *vis-à-vis* impressionable and observant peoples—that made possible the neuroses and illusions on which Soviet influence feeds today in that area. [For reasons of space, an earlier section of Mr. Kennan's paper developing this point at length has been eliminated.—Ed.]

The distinguished French scholar, A. Rossi, once observed in connection with the phenomenon of domestic Communism that "error must . . . always be regarded as a crisis in the internal development of truth." It may be said, similarly, that for the Western world the Soviet threat is primarily an internal crisis in the West's own development. In this appreciation there lies, in my conviction, the key to an understanding of the correct method of approach to the Soviet problem.

Now up to this point I have said nothing about the peoples of the Soviet Union, or about the regime under which they are languishing. These are, of course, two

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different things. The Soviet regime, while embodying many traditional Russian features and now showing significant signs of evolution, is still the unique outstanding example of that nightmare of the twentieth century: the totalitarian state. This is, in certain respects, a new phenomenon in the inventory of political institutions. We do not yet fully know the laws of its development. Plainly, the edifice of Soviet power is faced today with severe strains and crises. These can be observed in its internal structure, which has come to depend on the institution of a supreme and glorified leader but contains no formal provision for the method of his selection. They can also be observed in the satellite empire, where the nature of Soviet power has been thoroughly exposed, where its devices have worn thin, where it is harvesting the crop of hatred and rejection it sowed with such reckless arrogance some years ago, in defiance of the pleas and warning of the Western world.

It is our business neither to save Soviet power from its follies nor to confuse the issue by attempting to assert ourselves into its difficulties. If our own beliefs are sound, it will continue to suffer, as it is suffering today, by the effects of its own unsoundness—its incompatibility with the deepest human needs—and it will eventually earn the retribution it so justly deserves. It is important that this process be permitted to reveal itself with such vividness and clarity that for generations to come, and let us hope forever, men will not again be tempted to seek their political fortunes through the

degradation of fellow men, forgetting that it is they themselves who are thereby most deeply degraded.

And as for the Soviet peoples, we can only stand aside, respectful of the ordeal they are undergoing, mindful of the real human sacrifices this has involved, careful not to bestow either praise or blame too quickly where we understand very little of what is going on, maintaining our readiness to be helpful to the extent that we can, when and if the opportunity ever develops. We must not underrate the human damage that has been done by 35 years of Bolshevism: the partial brutalization of the youth, the neglect of religious truth, the primitivization of political and social concept, the atrophying of the qualities of individual self-reliance and responsibility. If and when the Soviet peoples ever emerge from this long ordeal, we must not expect them to react like people who had never gone through it. In many ways, they will be in great need of forbearance and understanding.

On the other hand, we must be careful not to approach them with an attitude of superiority and moral instruction. In their long and excruciating subjection to the power of human evil, they have unquestionably sounded depths of human experience beyond the ken or imagination of people in our world. Who knows whether, in the course of this ordeal, spiritual values have not been discovered—or rediscovered—of immense profundity, perhaps even essential to the healthy development of our own civilization? After all, we, too, face a crisis at this time in the adequacy of our own spiritual concepts to the strains of our industrial and urban civilization. Perhaps those who have passed through the purgatory of totalitarianism will have something to tell us that we could not have learned in any other way.

Looking at all these things together, I cannot resist the conviction that there is some great historical logic in the existence at this time of the phenomenon we call Soviet power and in the problem it poses for the world beyond its own borders. To the West it stands as an admonition of the necessity for internal unity and mutual tolerance and a reminder of the immense moral responsibility that rests upon us by virtue of our rise to political and economic ascendancy in advance of other portions of the modern world. To the East it stands as an enticement and a test of maturity: as the bearer of something the Eastern peoples must have the strength to reject if their long-coveted independence is to be more than a new disillusionment and failure. As for the Russian people themselves and the other peoples of the Soviet Union, I fear the measure of their tragedy is now beyond our imagination or comprehension. On the great plains of Russia and Siberia, a moral struggle is in progress so immense that it must, it seems to me, be either the final demonstration of civilization's failure or the breeding ground of new spiritual forces of wide historic significance.



HITLER'S WAR AGAINST WEST SPURRED BOLSHEVIKS

the honesty and purpose of their work.

As far back as 1940, the ILGWU, in a resolution to the AFL convention in New Orleans, asked for action to clean out racketeering elements that were infiltrating the trade-union movement. At that time, the AFL adopted a mild compromise which gave its Executive Council limited powers to act and left intact the autonomy of its affiliates.

Recent investigations of the New York waterfront have developed the more sensational aspects of this problem. Confronted with this development, the Council has taken bolder action against corruption and gangsterism in a significant departure that deserves our warmest congratulations. With this action, the Council proclaimed that corruption in any union injures all unions! The Council recognized that it has an obligation to the public as well as to the labor movement to eradicate this situation, irrespective of the traditional autonomy of its affiliates.

When we met in convention three years ago, we were still in the midst of a cold war. A few weeks after our adjournment, the shooting war was started in Korea by Moscow puppets. In the past few weeks, negotiations for an armistice there have been resumed.

In the Kremlin, the warlords have cut down on the number of insults against us. In the struggle over who is to succeed Stalin, they have to save some of these insults for use against each other. Good! But even to the small extent that their new tactics might make for lessening world tension, the democracies should meet them with new tactics of their own—with tactics which will strengthen the camp of freedom and peace.

We should never shut the door to negotiations. At the same time, we must also maintain our position—free from all appeasement. But in the negotiations with the Muscovites, we must not assume as settled and final any conquests the Kremlin made by

military aggression, Communist subversion, Soviet armed intervention, or any combination of these methods.

We don't claim to be prophets. We don't boast of any special talent. We never went to a school for diplomats. But as democratic trade unionists, who deal with the everyday problems of making ends meet, of making life more worthwhile, we sense more quickly the danger of the totalitarian enemy. It is because we of the ILGWU have sort of instinctively, and yet clearly, sensed the dangers of totalitarianism to free labor that we and our parent body, the AFL, became the vanguard of free world labor's fight against Communist subversion and aggression. I need not remind you that we opposed and fought with equal energy the Nazi-Fascist Axis as the most dangerous threat to human liberty, decency and peace.

That is why in 1934, when we met in convention here in Chicago, we were the first union in this country to decide to raise a voluntary fund to fight Nazism and Fascism. We were condemned then as we are today for the moral and financial support we have been extending to help save the free democratic trade unions abroad. They did not scare us then. We defied them. We'll defy them again today.

That is why we and the AFL fought the so-called World Federation of Trade Unions, a Moscow front. That is why we never could or would provide a cover of respectability for the Communist disruptors masquerading as social reformers. That is why we have tried hard, and with some success, to convince the honest liberals that Communism is the worst enemy and the very opposite of true liberalism and that genuine liberals should be in the forefront of the fight against Communism.

We have been fighting Communism and Communists since 1918. In the mid-Twenties, this union fought for its very survival when it was a

prime target of these subversives in the trade-union field. At that time, we stood almost alone. It wasn't fashionable to fight Communism then.

As one who has had personal experience for a great many years in fighting Communism, I feel that this fight cannot be conducted in the headlines. The self-proclaimed apostles of anti-Communism, who adopt Communist tactics in fighting Communism, merely defeat the very purpose of their campaign. They merely play into the hands of Moscow and its stooges by cheapening this fight and by making a political football out of the Communist issue. They only help and do not hurt the totalitarian enemies of our society.

The tactic of dragging genuine anti-Communists before Congressional committees solely for sensational purposes or personal revenge makes a mockery of American ideals, defeats the very purpose of the investigations and renders invaluable aid to the enemy. I consider this as a repeat performance of the Martin Dies Anti-American Committee of 1938. They made themselves ridiculous before the American public and gave comfort to the Communists. The same thing is happening today in Washington.

The fight for freedom is more than a military contest. In that fight, free labor must play an important part. We have met the challenge of world Communism through the formation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to which all of free world labor has rallied. We have revitalized all of the International Trade Secretariats, through which the fight to preserve democratic trade unionism is strengthened.

We assemble here at a time when warfare is again being waged in the world, when the common people are again paying a heavy price in lives to preserve the flame of freedom. This is a time of great challenge, and we must be confident of our ability to meet the challenge.

The ILGWU has not and shall not lose its crusading spirit.

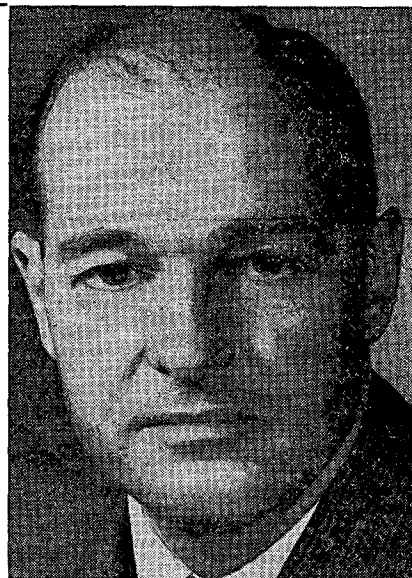
*Materialism, conformity and intolerance — the seeds of totalitarianism —  
are all gaining ground among us, says a great liberal diplomat*

# THE TRIPLE THREAT

## FROM WITHIN

*By George F. Kennan*

Woodrow Wilson once defined statesmanship as "the resolute and vigorous advance toward the realization of high, definite and consistent aims, which issue from the unreserved devotion of a strong intellect to the service of the state." Few men exemplify that definition so well as George F. Kennan, former State Department Counselor and Ambassador to Moscow. At the outbreak of World War II, he was interned in Nazi Germany; at the height of the cold war, he was expelled from Soviet Russia. In the intervening decade, he was a prime architect of American foreign policy. It was his dispatch from Moscow in 1945 (he was then First Secretary of our Embassy there) that most forcefully exposed the failure of appeasement. It was his article in *Foreign Affairs* in 1947 (written under the pseudonym, "Mr. X") that most convincingly formulated the Western program of resistance to Communism. We believe this address, delivered at the dedication of a new liberal-arts center at Notre Dame University, to be a comparable contribution to the preservation of a free world society.



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**T**HE SENSE of warmth and reassurance that flows from this occasion means all the more to me because I cannot forget that there are forces at large in our society today that do not inspire me with this same feeling—quite the contrary. These forces are too diffuse to be described by their association with the name of any one man or any one political concept.

They have no distinct organizational forms. They are as yet largely matters of the mind and the emotion in large masses of individuals. But they all march, in one way or another, under the banner of an alarmed and exercised anti-Communism—but an anti-Communism of a quite special variety, bearing an air of excited discovery and proprietorship, as though no one had ever known before that there was a Communist danger; as though no one had ever thought about it and taken its measure; as though it had begun about the year 1945 and these people were the first to learn of it.

I have no quarrel to pick with the ostensible purpose of the people in whom these forces are manifest. Surely, many of them are sincere. Surely, many of them are good people. Surely, many of them have come to these views under real provocation and out of real bewilderment. But I have the deepest misgivings about the direction and effects of their efforts.

In general, I feel that what they are doing is unwise and unfortunate, and I am against it. They distort and exaggerate the dimensions of the problem with which they profess to deal. They confuse internal and external aspects of the Communist threat. They insist on portraying as contemporary realities things that had their actuality years ago. They insist on ascribing to the workings of domestic Communism evils and frustrations which, insofar as they were not part of the normal and unavoidable burden of complexity in our life, were the product of our behavior generally as a nation, and should today be the subject of humble and contrite soul-searching on the part of all of us, in a spirit of brotherhood and community, rather than of frantic and bitter recrimination.

And having thus incorrectly stated the problem, it is no wonder that these people constantly find the wrong answers. They tell us to remove our eyes from the constructive and positive purposes and to pursue with fanaticism the negative and vindictive ones. They sow timidity where there should be boldness; fear where there should be serenity; suspicion where there should be confidence and generosity. In this way they impel us—in the name of our salvation from the dangers of Communism—to many of the habits of thought and action which our Soviet adversaries, I am sure, would most like to see us adopt and which they have tried unsuccessfully over a period of some 35 years to graft upon us through the operations of their Communist party.

I would not mention these things if I felt that they were only my personal concern and had no relation to the undertaking which we have gathered today to cele-



**CAPITAL CAR LOT: 'WALLS OF SECULAR UNIFORMITY'**

brate. But I fear that there is here a serious relevance which we cannot ignore.

Thanks to the vision of wise and generous people, this university is now adding one more important unit to the number of those facilities in our country in which men can cultivate their own understanding, and extend the boundaries of knowledge, in the field of arts and letters. Certainly there could be no finer undertaking and none more needed. But I feel that this undertaking, too, will have to deal at some point with the forces I have just described—that by entering upon this undertaking you will eventually find that these forces will be your concern just as they have already become the concern of some of us who have walked in other branches of life.

I feel this first of all because these forces are narrowly exclusive in their approach to our world position, and carry this exclusiveness vigorously into the field of international cultural exchanges. They tend to stifle the interchange of cultural impulses that is vital to the progress of the intellectual and artistic life of our people. The people in question seem to feel either that cultural values are not important at all or that America has reached the apex of cultural achievement and no longer needs in any serious way the stimulus of normal contact with other peoples in the field of arts and letters.

They look with suspicion both on the sources of intellectual and artistic activity in this country and on impulses of this nature coming to us from abroad. The remote pasts of foreign artists and scholars are anxiously scanned before they are permitted to enter our land, and this is done in proceedings so inflexible in concept and offensive in execution that their very existence often constitutes a discouragement to cultural interchange. The personal movements and affairs of great scholars and

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

artists are thus passed upon and controlled by people who have no inkling of understanding for the creative work these same scholars and artists perform.

In this way, we begin to draw about ourselves a cultural curtain similar in some respects to the Iron Curtain of our adversaries. In doing so, we tend to inflict upon ourselves a species of cultural isolation and provincialism wholly out of accord with the traditions of our nation and destined, if unchecked, to bring to our intellectual and artistic life the same sort of sterility from which the cultural world of our Communist adversaries is already suffering.

A second reason why I think you will have to concern yourselves with the forces to which I have pointed is that within the framework of our society, as in its relations to external environment, the tendency of these forces is ~~exclusive and intolerant—quick to reject, slow to receive,~~ intent on discovering what ought not to be rather than what ought to be.

They claim the right to define a certain area of our national life and cultural output as beyond the bounds of righteous approval. This definition is never effected by law or by constituted authority; it is effected by vague insinuation and suggestion. And the circle, as I say, tends to grow constantly narrower.

One has the impression that, if uncountered, these people would eventually narrow the area of political and cultural respectability to a point where it included only themselves, the excited accusers, and excluded everything and everybody not embraced in the profession of denunciation.

I recall reading recently, twice in one day, the words of individuals who proclaimed that if certain other people did not get up and join actively in the denunciation of Communists or Communism, they would themselves be suspect. What sort of arrogance is this? Every one of us has his civic obligations. Every one of us has his moral obligations to the principles of loyalty and decency. ~~I am not condoning anyone for forgetting these obligations.~~ But to go beyond this—to say that it is not enough to be a law-abiding citizen, to say that we all have some obligation to get up and make statements of this tenor or that with respect to other individuals, or else submit to being classified as suspect in the eyes of our fellow citizens—to assert this is to establish a new species of public ritual, to arrogate to one's individual self the powers of the spiritual and temporal lawgiver, to make the definition of social conduct a matter of fear in the face of vague and irregular forces, rather than a matter of confidence in the protecting discipline of conscience and the law.

I would know of no moral or political authority for this sort of thing. I tremble when I see this attempt to make a semi-religious cult out of emotional-political currents of the moment, and particularly when I note that these currents are ones exclusively negative in nature,

designed to appeal only to men's capacity for hatred and and fear, never to their capacity for forgiveness and charity and understanding.

I have lived more than ten years of my life in totalitarian countries. I know where this sort of thing leads. I know it to be the most shocking and cynical disservice one can do to the credulity and to the spiritual equilibrium of one's fellow men.

And this sort of thing cannot fail to have its effect on the liberal arts, for it is associated with two things that stand in deepest conflict with the development of mind and spirit—with a crass materialism and anti-intellectualism on the one hand, and with a marked tendency toward a standardization and conformity on the other.

In these forces I have spoken about, it seems to me that I detect a conscious rejection and ridicule of intellectual effort and distinction. They come together here with a deep-seated weakness in the American character, a certain shy self-consciousness that tends to deny interests other than those of business, sport or war.

There is a powerful strain of our American cast of mind that has little use for the artist or the writer, and professes to see in the pursuits of such people a lack of virility—as though virility could not find expression in the creation of beauty, as though Michelangelo had never wielded his brush, as though Dante had never taken up his pen, as though the plays of Shakespeare were lacking in manliness.

The bearers of this neo-materialism seem, indeed, to have a strange self-consciousness about the subject of virility—a strange need to emphasize and demonstrate it by exhibitions of taciturnity, callousness, and physical aggressiveness—as though there were some anxiety lest, in the absence of these exhibitions, it might be found wanting.

What weakness is it in us Americans that so often makes us embarrassed or afraid to indulge the gentle impulse, to seek the finer and rarer flavor, to admit frankly and without stammering apologies to an appreciation for the wonder of the poet's word and the miracle of the artist's brush, for all the beauty, in short, that has been recorded in the images of word and line created by the hands of men in past ages? What is it that makes us fear to acknowledge the greatness of other lands, or of other times, to shun the subtle and the unfamiliar?

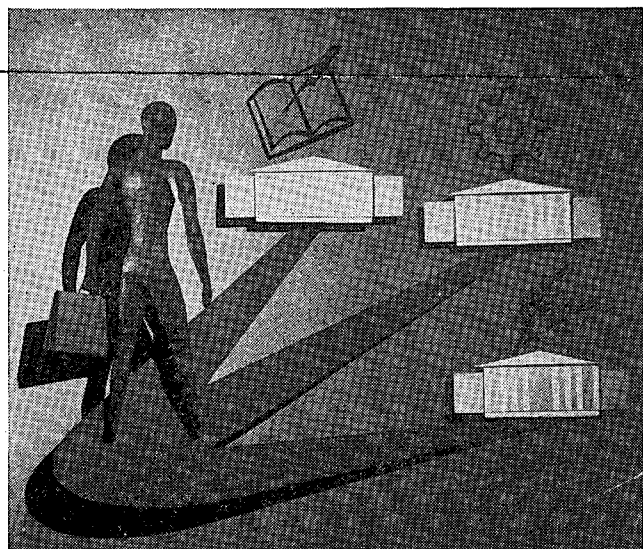
What is it that causes us to huddle together, herdlike, in tastes and enthusiasms that represent only the common denominator of popular acquiescence, rather than to show ourselves receptive to the tremendous flights of creative imagination of which the individual mind has shown itself capable? Is it that we are forgetful of the true sources of our moral strength, afraid of ourselves, afraid to look into the chaos of our own breasts, afraid of the bright, penetrating light of the great teachers?

This fear of the untypical, this quest for security within the walls of secular uniformity—there are traits of

our national character we would do well to beware of and to examine for their origins. They receive much encouragement these days, much automatic and unintended encouragement, by virtue of the growing standardization of the cultural and, in many respects, the educational influences to which our people are being subjected.

The immense impact of commercial advertising and the mass media on our lives is—let us make no mistake about it—an impact that tends to encourage passivity, to encourage acquiescence and uniformity, to place handicaps on individual contemplativeness and creativeness.

It may not seem to many of us too dangerous that we should all live, dress, eat, hear and read substantially



alike. But we forget how easily this uniformity of thought and habit can be exploited when the will to exploit it is there. We forget how easily it can slip over into the domination of our spiritual and political lives by self-appointed custodians who contrive to set themselves at the head of popular emotional currents.

There is a real and urgent danger here for anyone who values the right to differ from others in any manner whatsoever, be it in his interests or his associations or his faith. There is no greater mistake we of this generation can make than to imagine that the tendencies which in other countries have led to the nightmare of totalitarianism will, as they appear in our own midst, politely pause—out of some delicate respect for American tradition—at the point where they would begin to affect our independence of mind and belief.

The forces of intolerance and political demagoguery are greedy forces, and unrestrained. There is no limit to their ambitions or their impudence. They contain within themselves no mechanism of self-control. Like the ills of Pandora's box, once released, they can be stopped only by forces external to themselves.

It is for these reasons that I feel that you, in setting up at this time within this great academic community a

center for liberal arts, are taking upon yourselves a great, though honorable, burden. You are going to have to swim against the tide of many of the things I have been talking about.

You are frequently going to find arrayed against you, whether by intent or otherwise, the materialists, the anti-intellectuals, the chauvinists of all sizes and descriptions, the protagonists of violence and suspicion and intolerance, the people who take it upon themselves to delimit the operation of the principle of Christian charity, the people from whose memories there has passed the recollection that in their Father's house there are many mansions.

What you do in these walls will often be unsettling and displeasing to such people. They will view it with jealousy. You will have to bear their malice and their misrepresentation. But, unlike what many of them profess to wish to do to their own chosen enemies, it will be your task not to destroy them but to help in their redemption and remaking, to open their eyes, to demonstrate to them the sterility and hopelessness of negative undertakings, to engender in them an awareness of the real glories and the real horizons of the human spirit.

In this lies both the duty and the opportunity of the devotees of the liberal arts within our contemporary American civilization. It lies with them to combat the standardization of our day; to teach people to accept the great richness of the human mind and fantasy—to welcome it and to rejoice in it, happy that we have not been condemned by nature to a joyless monotony of the creative faculty, happy that there are so many marvelous ways in which the longings and dreams of men can find expression.

It lies with the devotees of the liberal arts to combat the materialism of our time; to teach us how to ride to work in a motor vehicle and absorb the canned music of the advertisers without forgetting that there is also a music of the spheres, to force us to remember that all the manifestations of our material prowess, impressive as they seem, are nevertheless only impermanent auxiliaries to our existence:

That the only permanent thing behind them all is still the naked, vulnerable human soul, the scene of the age-old battle between good and evil, assailed with weakness and imperfections, always in need of help and support, and yet sometimes capable of such breathtaking impulses of faith and creative imagination.

Finally, it lies with the devotees of the liberal arts to combat the forces of intolerance in our society, to convince people that these forces are incompatible with the flowering of the human spirit, to remember that the ultimate judgments of good and evil are not ours to make, that the wrath of man against his fellow man must always be tempered by the recollection of his weakness and fallibility and by the example of forgiveness and redemption which is the essence of his Christian heritage.



CHAMBERLIN

## WHERE the NEWS ENDS

By William Henry Chamberlin

# Korean POWs Are Test for Eisenhower

**T**HE ISSUE responsible for the long deadlock in the Korean truce negotiations is no mere detail, susceptible of compromise, but an issue of fundamental moral and political consequence. It is the very sort of issue on which our representatives surrendered, with disastrous results, at Yalta. The issue at Panmunjom is whether anti-Communist Chinese and Korean prisoners, through raw force or equally potent pressure of an indirect nature, shall be surrendered against their own will to Communist slavery, torture or execution.

There are about 50,000 such prisoners—some 35,000 North Koreans, the rest Chinese. Many of them surrendered in response to UN leaflets promising refuge and humane treatment. To hand them back now would be a sorry breach of faith, a grave blot on American honor. There must be no Far Eastern Yalta, no matter how strong the pressure may be from countries which have made, at best, token contributions to resisting aggression in Korea. India's Prime Minister Nehru achieved a fitting climax to his long record of misguided appeasement of the Communist aggression by publicly declaring that he preferred the latest Communist repatriation plan to the American counter-plan, which includes minimum safeguards for the prisoners.

When the original blunt Communist demand for forcible repatriation was too raw for Great Britain and even India to accept, India last December brought in a "compromise" scheme which was full of dangerous

loopholes. The United States, very unwisely, accepted the Indian resolution, but the new administration actually has little reason to feel bound by this acceptance.

Finding it impossible to obtain forcible return outright, the Communists are now trying to obtain the same result by subtler methods. The new Communist plan, which received the hasty blessing of Sir Winston Churchill and Prime Minister Nehru, is full of dangerous features.

The anti-Communist prisoners are to be turned over to a "neutral" commission, composed of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Switzerland and India. This commission is outrageously stacked—it includes two Soviet puppet dictatorships, two genuine neutrals and India, which has forfeited its right to be considered neutral by virtue of Nehru's announced approval of the Communist position. Red Chinese agents are to work on the prisoners for four months, and it is proposed that Polish and Czech Red military contingents take part in guarding them; it is easy to foresee the pressure to which this combination would lead. Those prisoners who hold out against threats are not to be set free even after the four-month period of "persuasion." Their fate is to be left to a political conference—which would be no more likely to reach agreement than the Panmunjom negotiators have been.

The American plan (which, at this writing, seems about to be watered down as the result of pressure from our weak-willed allies) accepts the five-nation commission but tries to

establish certain safeguards for the prisoners. The North Korean prisoners are to be freed as soon as an armistice is signed. The emissaries from Red China are to be given only two months to work on the prisoners, at the end of which time those who are still unwilling are to be set free. And only Indian troops are to be admitted to Korea for guard duty. This counter-plan should be America's last word.

As this writer and other contributors to THE NEW LEADER have suggested, the proper solution to the anti-Communist prisoner question is to release these men immediately and unconditionally. It has been argued that this would adversely affect the fate of UN prisoners. This seems most improbable. If the enemy really wants a truce, the release of our men in enemy hands would be hastened by the liberation of the anti-Communist prisoners; why should Red China and North Korea continue a war for the sole purpose of reclaiming prisoners who had been scattered to the four winds? Our own holding of the prisoners creates the temptation for the Communists to bargain and delay. On the other hand, if the enemy does not want a truce, there would be no prospect of the release of our men anyway.

I believe that, if the Eisenhower Administration releases the anti-Communist prisoners, the spontaneous cheer that greets any brave and just act would go up from one end of America to the other. The Peking radio would scream, Nehru would shake his head, the *New Statesman* would wring its hands; but we should be able to bear this with equanimity. President Eisenhower has the reputation of being a man who means what he says. Not long ago, he said: "We shall never acquiesce in the enslavement of any people in order to purchase fancied gain for ourselves." That principle will be nobly saved or meanly lost, depending on how we settle the fate of the Chinese and Korean anti-Communist refugees.

G.I.R.-7

Russia  
and the  
West

Re: George F. Kennan

Russia and the West

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SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

October 20, 1953

Mr. Tolson  
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Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn  
Mr. Nease  
Mr. Holloman  
Miss Gandy

Dear Mr. Hoover:

George F. Kennan

As you may know, I retired from the Foreign Service at the end of July and have returned to the Institute for Advanced Study, where I am doing some writing and research.

I still continue to function from time to time as a consultant to the Government, on Soviet affairs. For this reason I find it necessary to try to keep up my own files of information on Soviet personalities and personnel changes, and for this I require up to date files of at least one of the Soviet daily papers. Unless, therefore, you would know of some reason why this would be undesirable or unwise, I propose to enter a personal subscription to the Moscow PRAVDA, through the Four-Continent Book Store in New York, which I understand handles such subscriptions.

I would much appreciate it if record might be made in your files of these circumstances and notification given, if necessary, to the postal authorities to the effect that the entry of this subscription and the reasons therefor are known to the Government.

I am not certain whether the Bureau is the proper channel for this request and if not I would appreciate any indication you could give me of the steps I ought to take to prevent misunderstanding.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

George F. Kennan

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The Director,  
J. Edgar Hoover,  
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington 25, D. C.

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October 22, 1953

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Honorable George F. Kennan  
School of Historical Studies  
The Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey

My dear Mr. Kennan:

/ Thank you for your thoughtful letter of  
October 20, 1953. You may be sure that this  
information will be made a matter of record with  
us.

I am taking the liberty of referring a  
copy of your letter to the Chief Inspector, Post Office  
Department, Pennsylvania Avenue between Twelfth and  
Thirteenth Streets, Northwest, Washington, D. C.,  
for his attention. I am happy to be able to be of  
service.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

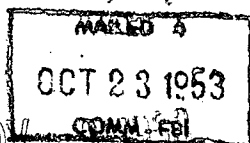
cc - Newark, with copy of incoming.

cc-Under separate cover letter to Post Office Department.

NOTE: Mr. Kennan is the former Ambassador to Russia, and  
the Bureau has had cordial relations with him.

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Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
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Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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It Was Not Military View Ex-Envoy Says of Article

# Containment Policy for Russia Diplomatic Talk, Kennan Claims

By R. H. SHACKFORD

Scripter-Howard Staff Writer

George F. Kennan, former U. S. Ambassador to Soviet Russia, said today his controversial "containment" policy was primarily aimed at getting the United States to stop giving away things to the Soviets "for nothing."

It was a guide for diplomatic rather than military policy, contrary to wide interpretation at the time, he said.

Mr. Kennan's explanation of what was in his mind when he proposed "containment" of Russia is published today in the current issue of "The Progressive" magazine. It discloses that the article suggesting "containment" was written in 1946, but not published until July, 1947, in "Foreign Affairs" quarterly under the pseudonym of "Mr. X."

## ISSUE

The containment policy was an issue in the 1952 presidential campaign. John Foster Dulles, now Secretary of State, took the position that it was a negative policy and proposed instead a positive course designed to eventually liberate the communist satellites.

"When I used the term 'containment,' in an article written in 1946," Mr. Kennan said, "I did not think of it primarily in military terms. I did not suspect the Soviet leaders of any desire or intention to launch aggressive military actions across international frontiers in the foreseeable future."

"What I was concerned for was that the western powers should not give up anything more—in the diplomatic sense—for nothing; and that we Americans, in particular, should not stand idly by and see any further peoples succumb to their own communist minorities simply for lack of some sort of temporary support from us that would be within the bounds of propriety and of our own resources."

## DOCTRINE

A few months after Mr. Kennan wrote the article, but before it was published, the Truman Doctrine was proclaimed in Greece and Turkey—

a doctrine promising aid to any nation resisting communist subversion.

Mr. Kennan said the Marshall Plan was entirely in accord with his concept and the Atlantic Pact "partly so."

Mr. Kennan's belated explanation of his "containment" policy was in reply to a pamphlet recently published by the American Friends Service Committee—an exposition of the pacifist view to which Mr. Kennan took strong exception.

"The friends appear to believe that the Soviet-American conflict came into existence only in 1945," he wrote, "and . . . that Soviet-American differences were only the product of misunderstanding."

Mr. Kennan doesn't indicate any great hope that the new look in the Kremlin will bring any early fundamental changes in Russia.

## PROCESS

"It is 40 years since the communists came to power in Russia," he said. "The original revolutionary generation has almost died out. Both theory and practice are now undergoing that process of mellowing that has overtaken, sooner or later, all great human antagonisms."

Mr. Kennan believes there is something more dangerous than theoretical antagonisms in Soviet-American relations. That, he said, was the destruction of German and Japanese power thruout great areas of the world in World War II "before there was any agreement as to what should replace it."

"Here is the basic question of the Soviet-American conflict: Who shall have dominant influence over the military resources of the areas formerly under the control of Germans and Japanese? Solve that question to the general satisfaction of both sides, and more will have been accomplished than by all the aid programs together to cause Soviet-American tension to take its place alongside the many historical antagonisms which—once the source of dangerous and dramatic conflict—now cause no loss of sleep to the friends of peace."

Mr. Kennan did not explain how he thought the German and Japanese problems could be settled to the satisfaction of both sides.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*Branigan*

*W. H. R. P. H. P.*

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Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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*Brady in  
B. J. A. S.*

*file*

## GEORGE KENNAN URGES AN END OF WITCHHUNTS

PRINCETON, N.J., May 1.—George F. Kennan, former U.S. Ambassador to Russia and New Jersey chairman of the Stevenson-for-President movement, last night called for a leadership which would "dispel the fears and misunderstandings that cause so many Americans to applaud the shocking miscarriage of justice and fairness in the Congressional investigations and loyalty hearings."

"We need a leadership," he declared, "that is much less afraid of men like (Sen. William) Jenner and (Sen. Joseph) McCarthy. What was happening in Washington in the hey-day of McCarthy still burns in my memory."

A leadership is needed, he said, that is "much more sensitive to the opinion and reaction of people in other countries."

Wash. Post and \_\_\_\_\_  
Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
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N. Y. Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
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The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
New Leader \_\_\_\_\_

*USA 5*

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BY RECORDED

117 MAY 8 1956

**A** Date **MAY 2 1956**

**55 MAY 10 1956**

James Reston, "'Style' in Foreign Policy," New York Times  
May 7, 1956.

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Boardman  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mason  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Parsons  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Mr. Winterrow  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Holloman  
Miss Gandy

According to George Kennan, former U. S. Ambassador to Moscow, much of the difficulty of the United States comes from fixed attitudes toward other nations, attitudes which are wrong and antithetical to United States long-term interests. Kennan believes that the United States, while recognizing its differences from the Russians, should look upon the recent changes in Soviet policy with hope that a satisfactory relationship can be established. The United States should accept the Soviet satellite situation, hoping only for the satellites' greater independence and greater responsiveness to domestic opinion. The outlook for U. S. - China relations is less promising because of the way China has insulted us, but the United States should not try to obstruct China's admission into the United Nations if a majority of the United Nations want Peiping. Germany should be united as fast as possible. The United States should not be terrorized by the threat of underdeveloped countries to go Communist if American aid is not forthcoming. On the other hand, we should not require gratitude from the countries we aid.

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*I am amazed at the way  
Kennan has fallen for  
the Soviet line.*

11 MAY 31 1956

G/T

What are the paragraphs in the draft charter which you consider as yet unsatisfactory? Mainly the paragraph regarding the composition of the Council of Directors, which does not provide for representation of the Chinese People's Republic. The Soviet delegation repeatedly proposed at the conference the Chinese People's Republic be included in the Directors' Council as a country which produces the initial raw materials and provides technical aid. These proposals were turned down, and the Soviet delegation was compelled to state that it would raise this question at the New York conference in December (as broadcast--Ed.) The exclusion of such a great Asian power as the Chinese People's Republic from the Council of Directors violates the principle of fair political and geographical representation of countries in the Council of Directors and would have an unfavorable effect on the work of the Council as a whole.

The last question asked Professor Uralov was: What is your opinion of the Washington conference as a whole and the Soviet stand at the conference? The conference showed, said Professor Uralov, that, having good will and mutual understanding, considerable improvement can be made in the international agency charter on atomic energy which would promote international cooperation in a highly important field, namely the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

However, I believe that the draft charter, as I have already said, can stand improvement. It should be formulated in keeping with the established principles of international cooperation on which the U.N. charter and other international organizations are founded. There must not be anything in the charter which does not correspond to the principles of state sovereignty.

The Soviet Union, being sincerely for complete prohibition of atomic, hydrogen, and other weapons of mass annihilation, and being a leading country in the peaceful use of atomic energy, advocates the establishment of an international agency on atomic energy. Evidence is the Soviet Government decision to contribute a given quantity of fissionable materials to the international fund of atomic materials of the international agency as soon as it is agreed to set up such an agency.

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# KENNAN URGES WIDER U.S.-USSR CONTACTS

Moscow, Soviet Home Service, May 18, 1956, 1600 GMT--L

(Text)

New York--The former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, George Kennan, supported an expansion of cultural ties between the Soviet Union and the United States at a meeting of the Council of the Museum of Contemporary Art in New York. Kennan stressed in this connection that "cultural activities by foreigners on our territory must be surrounded by hospitality, good will, and attention."

*File in Kennan's manifest*

*Proadin from me*

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Kennan continued: "Our Government could, of course, help in this respect. Maybe these words will reach it. Foreign artists make their first acquaintance with American hospitality when they apply to American representatives abroad for visas. It is quite evident that this rarely occurs without unpleasantnesses and I would again like to raise the question of whether it is really necessary that this should be so, and whether really such a great country like ours is unable to take steps to insure that such visitors and other persons receive their visas quietly as is seemly in a civilized society. I would like to raise the question whether we really cannot do anything else but take their fingerprints like we do with criminals."

Such a situation, Kennan continued, hampers the development of cultural ties between the U.S. and other countries and inflicts harm on culture in general and on American cultural life in particular. It makes the organization of scientific and cultural meetings in the United States so difficult that "many people with good intentions are afraid to propose them and abstain from them as far as possible."

Kennan said that there is a tendency in the United States "to regard its cultural life with indifference. We, for instance, spend millions of dollars every year on horse-racing and games of chance but have no opera in our capital."

"I know of few countries," he stressed, "where the painter, writer, composer or thinker is respected so little as in our country."

#### Comment on Exchanges

Moscow, in English to North America, May 18, 1956, 2315 GMT--E

(Commentary on USSR desire for tourist and other exchanges with the U.S.)

(Text)

Here now is a brief commentary: There is a saying current in our country today that I think is a good one, writes our commentator. It goes like this: Peace rests on human friendship. The better friends people are, the more durable is peace, for there is more trust and understanding of each other. I often recall this simple truth these days, when so many prominent Americans and ordinary American citizens are urging better cultural and other relations between our countries.

American students, farmers, businessmen, and journalists are speaking out more frequently for broader contacts with our country; and it is very pleasant to know George Kennan, who used to be America's Ambassador to the Soviet Union, is also of the same opinion. I have in mind what he said yesterday at a meeting of the International Council of the Modern Art Museum in New York, when he urged that cultural contacts between the United States and the Soviet Union should be expanded to the limit. Kennan criticized those in the United States who continue to obstruct such contacts.

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KENNANLAND REVISITED

APPROVED BY BENJAMIN H.  
 [Signature]

This is a clipping from  
 page 13 of the

( ) Daily Worker  
 ( ) The Worker  
 ( ) New Leader

Date September 19, 1952  
 Clipped at the Seat of  
 Government.

FIVE

OCT 2 1955

In search of a U.S. foreign policy

# KENNANLAND REVISITED

By Benjamin H. Brown (First of two articles)



GEORGE F. KENNAN

ANYONE WHO FINDS FAULT with George Kennan's views, as I shall have occasion to do in these articles, should start, I think, by acknowledging the debt this country owes him. Kennan's understanding of the Soviet threat has helped us measure, and go far toward mastering, an unprecedented challenge to our way of life. His dogged insistence that diplomacy is a game of power, not platitude, helped puncture a dangerous illusion of American statesmanship. The containment doctrine, implying coalition and cooperation with other free peoples, supplied the master strategic concept for resistance to Soviet expansion.

These ideas underlie many of the foreign policy enactments of two administrations. The credit must of course be widely shared. But much of it belongs to Kennan, and not a little to other former members of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, which Kennan organized in 1947. Recent books by three alumni of this remarkable group—Dorothy Fosdick, Louis Halle and Charles Burton Marshall—are valuable supplements to the basic Kennan texts.\*

For all this, there are serious shortcomings in the

\* George Kennan, *American Diplomacy and The Realities of American Foreign Policy*; Dorothy Fosdick, *Common Sense and World Affairs*; Louis Halle, *Civilization and Foreign Policy*; Charles Burton Marshall, *The Limits of Foreign Policy*.

Benjamin H. Brown (cut at right) was recently appointed Director of Cleveland's Council on World Affairs. A former Deputy Secretary General of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, he has also served on the history faculty of Columbia University. He is co-author with Joseph E. Johnstone of *The U.S. and the UN*, and was editor of *The U.S. Stake in the UN*.



Kennan approach. First, he rates too low, in my opinion, the likelihood that Americans in their present mood can adequately respond to the growing demands of their position of world leadership. This makes him an unreliable guide for the high ground beyond containment, where the victories of the cold war will be consolidated or wasted.

Second, Kennan's "conceptual framework," as he calls it, contains inadequate safeguards against the use of American power for short-term advantage at the expense of long-term objectives. To some extent, this deficiency is made good by Kennan's former colleagues. I shall deal fully with this matter in another article.

A third limitation arises from Kennan's strong attachment to the forms and procedures of traditional diplomatic intercourse; these are linked in his mind with realism and power. He has a corresponding mistrust of the UN and other forms of international organization; these are linked in his mind with legalistic and moralistic policies that ignore the realities of power. The confusion of form and substance limits the usefulness of Kennan's analysis at precisely the point where his keen insights might be of greatest value for the policy-making of the future.

Let us pick up the thread of Kennan's argument and see where it is apt to lead, for better or worse, in the period ahead.

EIGHT YEARS AGO, as the not-so-mysterious "Mr. X," Kennan unveiled the containment theory for the readers of *Foreign Affairs*. Despite the claims of its critics, it was not purely a defensive doctrine. For behind the idea of "unalterable counterforce" lay the notion that the United States, by increasing the strains under which Soviet policy operates, could force upon the Kremlin a greater degree of moderation and circumspection—and in this way "promote tendencies which must eventually



SOVIET DELEGATION AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE: 'SOMETHING ELSE' IS NOT FULLY CLEAR TO US

find their outlet in either the break-up or the gradual mellowing of Soviet power." Kennan suggested that we might begin to see evidence of such a turn of events if we could frustrate Soviet expansion for ten or fifteen years.

Kennan's prediction rested on a prescient analysis of Soviet internal weakness, on a shining faith in the greatness of the Russian people, on a tough humanistic conviction that there can be no real stability for a system that lives by man's debasement, and on his cool appraisal of the Kremlin's leaders. The latter, in his opinion, were odious but thoroughly realistic. Their deep hostility toward us could not be charmed away. On the other hand, they had no desire for a general war and would have no qualms about backing up before superior force, if we left them a way to do so without loss of vital prestige.

The hard question for Kennan—assuming the United States did the right things—was not whether desirable changes would in time come about and largely through the efforts of the Russian people themselves, but whether these changes would come about by the mellowing or violent overthrow of the regime. He did not prejudge this question and, so far as I know, he is still open-minded about it.

But, by 1954, Kennan seemed to detect a hopeful quickening of the pace. "There is a change in process today from Stalinism to something else," he wrote, "and the fact that this 'something else' is not fully clear to us is not a proof that it does not exist, or that it will not be something closer to the requirements of international stability than what we have known hitherto in the Soviet system."

How are we to tell if the "something else" that we perceive in Russia today is really closer—or moving closer—to the requirements of international stability? First, we need to have a clear image of the kind of Russia

that we can live with in a fair degree of tranquility. Equally important, we must know the practical limits beyond which we cannot or should not, in our own interest, go in claiming the right to concern ourselves with Russian developments.

Kennan gives good advice on both points. It is elementary that Russian national interests will continue to exist and to be asserted by any Russian government worthy of the name. Moreover, Kennan adds, many features of the Soviet system will stick—and some will deserve to, for no system that lasts decades can lack merit altogether.

If we cast off the illusion of American omnipotence and if we measure carefully our true interest in Russia, we shall understand, Kennan argues, that what genuinely concerns us and what a wise American foreign policy may be able to influence is the personality of Russia as an actor on the world stage. This has little to do with internal affairs. These become relevant to our concerns, Kennan asserts, only when they affect the stability of international life.

Thus, in 1951, Kennan listed three changes that the United States, as a responsible member of the world community, was entitled to look for in Russia:

First, that the Iron Curtain be forever lifted, so that Russian relations with the rest of the world could be conducted in a sane and moderate atmosphere.

Second, that the exercise of internal authority "stop short of that fairly plain line beyond which lies totalitarianism." This would mean, for example, the abandonment of a system of slave labor—not so much because slavery is repugnant to us, but because it requires coercion on such a scale that the lowering of an Iron Curtain and the invention of foreign enemies follow almost automatically. Such excess of internal authority in a great country over a long period easily becomes a hazard to



world peace and is thus a legitimate concern of the world community.

Third, we are entitled to look for an end to Russian imperialist expansion and oppression. Kennan recognizes that this is a difficult subject, involving among others neighboring non-Russian peoples whose economic existence is closely tied to that of the Great Russians. Our legitimate opposition to imperialistic oppression should not blind us to the requirements of these special cases.

These, then, are the criteria that Kennan would use in determining whether the Russian "New Look" is a matter of appearance or substance. They will not appeal to wishful thinkers who see the mellowing of Soviet power in Khrushchev's outgoing manner. Nor will they appear to hot-blooded romantics who dream of rolling Russia back to her prewar frontiers and of establishing a liberal democracy in Moscow. But, as Kennan would say, wishful thinking and counsels of romantic perfection have no place in international affairs. "Here other criteria, sadder, more limited, more practical, must be allowed to prevail." If there was any doubt of the essential truth of this in pre-atomic days, surely there is none in 1955.

**I**F KENNAN IS RIGHT, the Kremlin's leaders have no timetables of military conquest. Their major design, he wrote last year, is to divide the non-Communist world by exploiting its supposed internal contradictions and thus to hasten its "inevitable" decline.

The corollary is that our major design must be to unite and strengthen the free world. Thus, assuming we maintain an adequate defense posture, the things we most need to do to prevent further Soviet expansion are "things we must do in our relations with the peoples of the non-Communist world."

This is the heart of the containment theory and the informing idea of the mid-century *Pax Americana*. It is reflected in the Greek-Turkish program, the Marshall Plan, Point Four, NATO, and our world-wide system of alliances and aid agreements. The work of containment may be far from done, but it is far enough along to suggest the expediency of looking ahead. What lies beyond? And how shall we shape our actions to insure that we move in the right direction?

Kennan's view is that, in the long run, America "will not solve the problems of its developing world relationships except on the basis of a readiness to go in for an extensive merging of its life with that of other peoples." This is not World Government, and it is not Union Now, he hastens to add. We must start cautiously, "tackling first the problem of our relationship with peoples nearest and closest to us." What this really means is that we should not start at all; for in Kennan's opinion we are not yet ready, we are not yet worthy to begin, even in the smallest way, the great task that lies before us.

We Americans have come upon evil days, he writes. Hypnotized by the banalities of the mass media, mouthing

the clichés of an outdated national myth, suspicious and afraid of other peoples and ourselves, we live in a wasteland of gadgets and violence, of filthy city streets and juvenile delinquency. Since we have not mastered ourselves, we cannot hope to lead the world. If we go about talking of international mergers, the prospects of intimacy with us will only frighten other people away. The problem must wait while we do something about "our own inner American selves and the state of our national soul." When the good angel speaks to us, and when we have put our house in order, our lives will be more interesting and meaningful and we shall have some shining new message for the peoples of the world.

Until that great day comes, Kennan seems to say, we should venture little and trust that events do not pass us by. We should cling to the diplomatic forms that served our forefathers in the nineteenth century. We should beware the pitfalls of multilateral organizations. We should honor the UN but do nothing to strengthen it. As a great nation commanding a large portion of the world's wealth and military power, we have a heavy responsibility that rests squarely on us. We cannot evade it or spread it extensively "by always contriving to appear in the company of an international majority."

I am not a Rotarian booster and I am not for World Government Now, but I find Kennan's judgments a trifle harsh. There are many symptoms of illness in American society. Nevertheless, this nation has risen to its new international responsibilities with alacrity, courage and generosity. We now lead a world-wide coalition of nations—a mighty force that has made a good start toward developing what Kennan calls, in another connection, the "positive and constructive purposes that serve to place the negative, destructive purposes of Communism in the shadows where they belong."

Our coalition has been created in part by the kind of diplomacy which Kennan admires, for which there is always a need. But it has also been created by the venturesomeness that in our best moments impels us to leap ahead of events and to experiment with new forms of organization that Kennan deplors.

One such leap into the future occurred when we answered the Communist challenge in Korea. In one stroke we improvised a new tool—a UN executive military authority—to enable our coalition to do, under the UN, what the original San Francisco machinery could not do. It was a great forward step. And while the fighting went on in Korea, we sought, through diplomatic channels and in UN debates, to perfect the new tool and to find new uses for it.

The opportunity was lost on Kennan. The thing that impressed him about Korea was, ironically, the same thing that impressed General MacArthur. As "the circle of military associates widens," Kennan wrote in 1950, "... the theoretical total of available military strength may increase, but only at the cost of compactness and



ease of control." Korea only demonstrated that "joint military operations against an aggressor have a different meaning for each participant and raise specific political issues for each one which are extraneous to the action in question." This view is widely held now. We find it also in Louis Halle's book.

Kennan's view rests, it seems to me, on a deep and mischievous confusion that accounts for much of today's fashionable criticism of the notion of collective security. One of our problems in Korea arose from the insistence of other UN members—notably India—that the UN Command limit its objectives to those appropriate to a police action and seek a negotiated peace on the basis of those objectives. This was not "extraneous" to the action in question, as Kennan suggests; it was basic. It was not the presence of an Indian ambulance unit in Korea or the participation of Indian delegates in UN debates that caused Nehru to claim and to be accorded the right to be heard. It was India's special interest in Asia and her general interest in world peace. Other nations also had legitimate interests, which had to be asserted, UN or no UN. In the UN, they were asserted in an orderly way and a rough harmony was achieved. What we gained was not merely theoretical military strength, as Kennan suggests, but a warrant to proceed on behalf of the world community, with, incidentally, substantial material support from other members. If we had sacrificed this for "ease of control," the advantage would have been illusory. For we would have risked the collapse of the UN and of our coalition, and our political difficulties would have been greater, not less.

Kennan argues in his latest book against involving in complex international problems large numbers of countries whose interests are only remotely affected and who cannot make appreciable contributions to the remedies that are adopted. But where are these unaffected countries? If they exist, then most of us, including Kennan, have misunderstood the nature of the Soviet threat. One of the chief problems of our diplomacy has been to help them see that they are affected. What is more, most of them have appreciable contributions to make toward world security. They have the power to grant or deny

the use of strategic airbases, waterways, and raw materials. Even the weakest of them have the power, and may be tempted, as Kennan warns, to turn over the reins of government to elements taking orders from Moscow.

The logic of events is all against the notion that our coalition can or should be a limited-membership club. The world-wide Soviet menace has inspired the formation of a world-wide line of defense. The Rio Pact was followed by NATO, and NATO has grown to include Greece and Turkey and now Adenauer's Germany. We are linked by alliances and aid programs to the Middle East, Asia and the Pacific. What we call "coalition diplomacy" is really a way of dealing with the entire non-Soviet world, including traditional neutrals and the new species of neutralists. As Dorothy Fosdick suggests, strong neutrals are sometimes "as useful as allies; indeed, they may be more helpful than some outright allies."

The management of our world-wide coalition involves difficulties that will grow more acute in months to come. The free world is torn by deep and dangerous conflicts. It has grown in unity because of the special circumstances of the period through which we have been passing. The bi-polarization of world power has left most governments little room for maneuver. The Kremlin's hostility has been plain enough for most to see. The mounting importance of the UN, as long as it had serious United States support, fostered a growing sense of world community.

But now bi-polarity is passing: The Big Four, as Walter Lippmann recently remarked, is giving way to the Big Eight. The Kremlin, still unmellowed so far as we know, is on its good behavior. Everyone is talking about a new era of diplomacy in which the UN will not figure in any important way. And yet, if we are right—if Kennan is right—about the nature of the Soviet danger, the need for solidarity will remain, particularly in an age of nuclear stalemate and limited wars. The "duel of infinite duration" may be only beginning.

In the long run, the vast and improbable congeries of interest known as the Free World is not defensible except as it becomes a cooperative order offering all loyal participating nations advantages that are worth defending from their point of view as well as from ours. This calls for increasing cooperation in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. Kennan is right: We cannot build such an order overnight; we cannot build it by ignoring the realities of power. But neither can we build it by sitting on our hands. We cannot take a long holiday from our international responsibilities while we do something about the state of our "national soul."

We have shown in these postwar years that we are not altogether unworthy of the leadership that history has thrust upon us. We have made a good beginning in the UN and elsewhere. We must continue on our journey. One wishes Kennan would not stand back and exhort us to slow down, but get out in front and help us find our way.

## TREATMENT

*According to a Russian doctor, "intermittent deep sleep," induced by drugs and lasting 10-20 hours daily, is widely used to treat mental disorder.—News item.*

It's good to know so many Reds  
Take sleeping pills and take to beds,  
For though we have our dreads, our doubts,  
And long, indeed, have been at outs,  
This one belief we firmly keep:  
The Communists are sound—asleep.

—Richard Armour

GIR 6

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
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MR. BRANIGAN

(RELEASE AT 7 PM EDT)  
 (KENNAN)

NEW YORK--FORMER AMBASSADOR TO MOSCOW GEORGE F. KENNAN SAID THE THREAT OF SOVIET COMMUNISM WOULD FADE AWAY IN 10 YEARS IF THE U.S. WOULD STOP "BEING PARALYZED LIKE A BIRD BEFORE A SNAKE" AND CREATE AN EFFECTIVE FOREIGN POLICY.

KENNAN SAID THE "WEAKNESSES OF OUR OWN PERFORMANCE" IN THE ARENA OF WORLD COMPETITION HAVE RESULTED IN MANY OF THE FREE WORLD SETBACKS USUALLY CREDITED TO RUSSIAN AGGRESSIVENESS.

THE ALLIES, HE SAID, CONTINUE TO COMMIT "GREAT STUPIDITIES" IN THE NAME OF COLONIAL OR QUASI-COLONIAL POWERS.

THE VETERAN DIPLOMAT'S VIEWS ON FOREIGN POLICY APPEARED IN THE AUGUST ISSUE OF HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

KENNAN SAID THE U.S. HAS "LED WITH ITS CHIN ON THESE ISSUES:

1. "RENDERED OURSELVES VULNERABLE TO THE (SOVIET) PEACE CAMPAIGN BY THE OVER-MILITARIZATION OF OUR ENTIRE APPROACH TO WORLD PROBLEMS." IN THIS CATEGORY, THE U.S. HAS BEEN SO PRE-OCCUPIED WITH A WAR THAT IT IS "DEVOID OF SUGGESTION" FOR NOT HAVING A WAR.
2. "ESTRANGED THE NEUTRAL WORLD WITH OUR SELF-CENTEREDNESS, WITH OUR LACK OF UNDERSTANDING FOR THE VERY PRINCIPLE OF NEUTRALITY.
3. "SET UP THE SOVIET LEADERS IN THEIR SLOGAN OF TRADE NOT AID BY OUR EXAGGERATED EFFORTS TO STIFLE EAST-WEST TRADE.
4. "PLAYED INTO SOVIET HANDS BY OUR OVEREMPHASIS ON MILITARY AID TO THE DETRIMENT OF ECONOMIC AID, AND BY THE UNFORTUNATE MANNER IN WHICH WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY PORTRAYED OUR ECONOMIC AID EFFORTS AS MOVES IN THE COLD WAR--AS BRIBES OF SORTS.

IN RACE RELATIONS, KENNAN SAID, A NEWS PHOTOGRAPH OF NEGRO CO-ED AUTHERINE LUCY BEING BESIEGED BY A MOB AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA WITH A MAN JUMPING UP AND DOWN ON HER CAR WAS "WORTH MORE TO THE COMMUNISTS THAN ALL THE LIES THEY COULD INVENT IN A DECADE."

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Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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(KENNAN)

LONDON--FORMER U.S. AMBASSADOR TO RUSSIA GEORGE F. KENNAN TODAY  
 BECAME A PROFESSOR AT OXFORD UNIVERSITY.

KENNAN, AUTHOR OF THE "CONTAINMENT PLAN" AGAINST COMMUNISM AFTER  
 WORLD WAR II AND THE FIRST HEAD OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S POLICY  
 PLANNING STAFF, WILL TRAVEL TO OXFORD NEXT OCTOBER AS GEORGE EASTMAN  
 VISITING PROFESSOR TO LECTURE ON SOVIET-WESTERN RELATIONS.

AN OXFORD OFFICIAL DESCRIBED KENNAN AS "A GREAT EXPERT ON RUSSIAN  
 AFFAIRS AND A GREAT LOVER OF ENGLAND." KENNAN HAS SAID THE UNITED  
 STATES SHARES THE BLAME WITH BRITAIN AND FRANCE FOR THE SUEZ CRISIS.

KENNAN HAS BEEN CONNECTED WITH THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES  
 AT PRINCETON, N.J., SINCE HE LEFT HIS MOSCOW POST IN OCTOBER, 1953.  
 AT THE REQUEST OF THE KREMLIN, THE RUSSIANS HELD HIM TO BE PERSONA NON  
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SUMMARIES OF PERTINENT INFORMATION  
ON INDIVIDUALS NAMED IN GENERAL  
TRUDEAU'S ALLEGATIONS RE FABIAN  
SOCIALIST INFILTRATION OF HIGH  
POLICY-MAKING AREAS OF UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT

March 8, 1957

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GEORGE FROST KENNAN

Referral/Consult

George Frost Kennan appears to be identical with the Kennan indicated in the material furnished by General Trudeau as "Architect of 'Containment Policy.' - Placed his adherents strategically in State [redacted] Continues to influence policy through meetings in Washington and Princeton. [redacted]

(100-420468-1)

Background

Kennan was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on February 16, 1904. He was graduated from Princeton University with an A. B. degree in 1925. Kennan entered the United States Consular Service in 1925, and later served in numerous American consulates and embassies throughout the world. In 1952 Kennan was named United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union. In October, 1952, Kennan was declared persona non grata by the Soviet Government and his recall was requested. Kennan retired from the State Department in July, 1953, and is currently associated with the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, New Jersey. (Who's Who in America 1956-57; 62-81548-20, NR 11-2-53)

Unfavorable Information

The Daily Worker, 5-2-56, east coast daily communist newspaper, page 2, stated that in a speech reportedly delivered on April 30, 1956, Kennan called for leadership which would "dispell the fears and misunderstandings that cause so many Americans to applaud the shocking miscarriage of justice and fairness in the Congressional investigations and loyalty hearings. We need a leadership that is much less afraid of men like Jenner and McCarthy. What was happening in Washington in the heyday of McCarthy still burns in my memory."

James Reston, New York Times correspondent, in an article appearing in the May 7, 1956, issue of that paper, stated that according to George Kennan, former Ambassador to Russia, much of the difficulty of the United States came from fixed attitudes towards other countries, attitudes which were wrong and antithetical to long-term United States interests. Kennan believes, according to Reston, that the United States while recognizing its differences with the Russians should look upon recent changes in Soviet policy with the hope that future relationships can be established. Kennan reportedly feels that the United States should accept the satellite situation. Kennan reportedly feels that United States-China relations are less promising

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DATE 2-12-99 BY SP4 BJA/DFW

# 41033

100

ENCLOSURE

because of the way China has insulted us, but that the United States should not try to obstruct Red China's admission into the United Nations if a majority of that group wants to admit Red China.

The Director made the following notation regarding the above article:  
"I am amazed at the way Kennan has fallen for the Soviet line. H."  
(62-81548-25)

Other Information

In an article in the April, 1951, issue of the Foreign Affairs and in a speech before the Pennsylvania State Bar Association in January, 1953, Kennan stated that United States policy should be one of firmness and "containment" of Russian expansion. Kennan stated that he was opposed to the aggressive policy of John Foster Dulles.

(62-81548-10, 22; 62-81548-A Washington News Service 1-16-53)

Kennan has generally maintained cordial relations with the Bureau and furnished helpful and pertinent material while he was with the State Department. (62-81548-10)

No investigation made of Lerman.

## APPENDIX

### ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS MENTIONED IN TEXT WHICH HAVE BEEN DESIGNATED BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL PURSUANT TO EXECUTIVE ORDER 10450 OR CITED BY CONGRESSIONAL OR STATE COMMITTEES

The names of organizations and publications in the summaries which were marked by asterisk for citation in the Appendix are listed below.

Those organizations or publications cited by congressional or state committees are listed in the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., January 2, 1957. Those cited only by the committees have been identified in the following list by the page number on which the citations appear in the Guide.

Those designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450 have been identified with the notation (Executive Order 10450).

Abraham Lincoln Brigade (Executive Order 10450)

Amerasia (Guide, p. 99)

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (Guide, p. 7)

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (Executive Order 10450)

American Friends of Spanish Democracy (Guide, p. 10)

American Friends of the Chinese People (Guide, p. 10)

American League Against War and Fascism (Executive Order 10450)

American League for Peace and Democracy (Executive Order 10450)

American Labor Party (Guide, p. 11)

American Peace Mobilization (Executive Order 10450)

American Russian Institute (Executive Order 10450)

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DATE 2-12-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

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American Slav Congress (Executive Order 10450)

American Student Union (Guide, p. 18)

American Youth for a Free World (Guide, p. 19)

American Youth for Democracy (Executive Order 10450)

China Aid Council (Guide, p. 24)

China Today (Guide, p. 99)

Civil Rights Congress (Executive Order 10450)

Civil Rights Federation (Guide, pp. 26, 56)

Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy (Executive Order 10450)

Committee for the Care of Young Children in Wartime (Fourth Report Un-American Activities in California, 1948, Communist Front Organizations, Report of Joint Fact-Finding Committee to the 1948 Regular California Legislature, Sacramento, 1948, p. 168)

Committee of One Thousand (Guide, p. 118)

Committee to Defend America by Keeping out of War (Guide, p. 29)

Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas (Executive Order 10450)

Communist Party, USA (Executive Order 10450)

Communist Political Association (Executive Order 10450)

Congress of American Women (Executive Order 10450)

Consumers Union (Guide, p. 141)

Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo (Guide, p. 35)

Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (Guide, p. 44)

Industrial Workers of the World (Executive Order 10450)



Institute of Pacific Relations (Guide, p. 45)

International Juridical Association (Guide, p. 46)

International Labor Defense (Executive Order 10450)

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (Executive Order 10450)

League of American Writers (Executive Order 10450)

League of Women Shoppers (Guide, p. 53)

Morning Freiheit (Guide, p. 104)

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (Executive Order 10450)

National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (Guide, p. 61)

National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights (Guide, p. 62)

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (Executive Order 10450)

National Free Browder Congress (Guide, p. 63)

National Lawyers' Guild (Guide, p. 64)

North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (Executive Order 10450)

Open Road (Fourth Report Un-American Activities in California, 1948, Communist Front Organizations, Report of Joint Fact-Finding Committee to the 1948 Regular California Legislature, Sacramento, 1948, pp. 336, 341)

Science and Society (Guide, p. 108)

Socialist Workers Party (Executive Order 10450)

Southern Conference for Human Welfare (Guide, p. 81)

Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign (Guide, p. 81)

United American Spanish Aid Committee (Executive Order 10450)

Washington Bookshop Association (Executive Order 10450)

Washington Committee for Democratic Action (Executive Order 10450)

Washington Friends of Spanish Democracy (Guide, p. 90)

Women's International Democratic Federation (Guide, p. 91)

Young Communist League (Executive Order 10450)

JUL 22 1957  
NAME CHECK

July 22, 1957

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-28-98 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
# 410933

GEORGE F. KENNAN *Summary*  
Born: February 16, 1904  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

No investigation has been conducted by this Bureau concerning the captioned individual wherein information of a subversive derogatory nature was developed.

The foregoing information is furnished to you as a result of your request for an FBI file check and is not to be construed as a clearance or a nonclearance of the individual involved. This information is furnished for your use and should not be disseminated outside of your agency.

George F. Kennan

NOTE: / Kennan, former U.S. Ambassador to Russia, to be invited as guest speaker before Corps of Cadets, U.S. Military Academy. Search of indices and file reviews restricted to main subversive files only per Department of the Army request.

Orig. & 1 Department of the Army  
(Via Liaison)

RR 7/18/57

M. Gregorio:rap *rap*  
(4) *ms.*

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

60 JUL 26 1957

MAIL ROOM ☐

INDEXED - 9

RECORDED - 9

62-81548-76

JUL 23 1957

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CORDED - 77

INDEXED - 77

62-81548-27

December 13, 1957

Commander Alfred B. ~~Mason~~  
U. S. Naval Magazine  
Concord, California

Dear Commander Mason:

I have received your letter of  
December 5, 1957, and I appreciate the  
thoughts which prompted you to supply the  
information to this Bureau.

The views and assistance of our  
country's citizens have been of inestimable  
value in our efforts to maintain a high level  
of internal security.

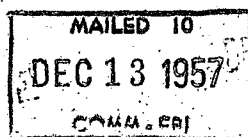
Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

ESS:dmn

(4)

(SEE NOTE, PAGE 2)



MAIL ROOM

68 JAN 2 1958

per letter dated 5-23-01 SP4BJA/DFW  
8-20-02  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 10-28-98 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
410933

Commander Alfred B. Mason

NOTE:

Referral/Consult

Mason, as an individual rather than as a result of his being a Naval officer, expressed concern that George Kennan, a former State Department official, has consistently expressed ideas and positions not only favorable to the communists, but at such times as might indicate he had prior knowledge of actions to be taken by Russia. Bufiles contain no info identifiable with Mason. Kennan was one of the individuals concerning whom General Trudeau of G-2 expressed concern and described him as "Architect of 'Containment Policy.' - Placed his adherents strategically in State [redacted] Continues to influence policy through meetings in Washington and Princeton. In 1953 [redacted] Kennan entered U.S. Consular Service in 1925, served in numerous consulates and embassies throughout the world and in 1952, was named U.S. Ambassador to Russia. Declared persona non grata by Russia in 1952. Retired from State Department in 1948 and according to Who's Who in America, 1956-1957, is associated with Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, New Jersey. In May 7, 1956, issue of "New York Times," Kennan quoted as stating much of U.S. difficulty results from fixed attitudes toward other countries and that U.S., while recognizing differences with Russians, should look upon recent changes in Soviet policy with hope that future relationships can be established. Article reported he feels U.S. should accept satellite situation. Also that U.S. should not try to obstruct Red China's admission into the UN if a majority wants to admit Red China. Director noted in connection with this article "I am amazed at the way Kennan has fallen for the Soviet line. H."

While Kennan's statements and positions have appeared to be in favor of Russia and U.S. getting along with Russia, we have not made investigation of him and have no basis for an investigation at this time.

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Boardman  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Nease  
Mr. Parsons  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tamm  
Mr. Trotter  
Mr. Clayton  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Holloman  
Miss Gandy

U. S. Naval Magazine  
Concord, California  
5 December, 1957

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-28-98 BY SP4 BJA/DAW  
# 410933

Dear Mr. Hoover:

This is just a suggestion, as I haven't any real evidence at hand—but I wonder if anyone has thought of investigating the sources of the remarkable advice which George Kennan, the former State Department official who is currently said to be our greatest expert on Russia, is passing out to citizens of the free world (and particularly its intellectuals) via the mass communication media?

I thought of this in connection with an editorial in our local paper about Kennan's latest BBC broadcast to the people who will shortly be asked to choose between MacMillan's government and Bevan's party,—in which Mr. Kennan recommended (1) withdrawal of American forces from Europe, (2) unilateral NATO action to end the atomic arms race. It struck me how accurately placed in space and time Mr. Kennan's mass-communication efforts are relative to weaknesses in the free and totalitarian systems, and how consistently they serve to weaken the free world and strengthen the slave.

Thus in 1947, when Stalin's Eastern Europe grabs had Washington in a mood dangerously near to vigorous retaliation, Kennan came out with the soothing "Mr. X" article, which assured America that we could have our cake and eat it, too—avoid a war, yet see our most dangerous and aggressive enemy collapse from his own internal conflicts. At this time, there was already a sizeable body of skeptics who pointed out that no police state had proved internally unstable, although all of them had been expected to be. Mr. Kennan's advice became the policy of "containment" which is the backbone of America's "cold war" strategy even today.

In August, 1956, with the Middle-East situation growing increasingly urgent and dangerous, Mr. Kennan's name appeared over an article in HARPER'S magazine entitled "Needed Changes In Our Foreign Policy"—an article which urged that Americans concentrate on creating Utopia at home and forget about the Communist menace abroad for ten years—after which, said Mr. Kennan, there would be plenty of time to deal with that menace, should it still exist. And in November, 1956, in the middle of the Budapest murder case Mr. Kennan co-authored another article entitled "The Soviet Can Never Recover" (with Joseph Alsop, who has since repudiated the sentiments therein, in public articles). \* This article asserted that it was unnecessary for the U.S. to do anything positive about Communist imperialism since God was on Our Side and victory, therefore, inevitable. 62-81548-20

Then on Nov. 10, almost as the Sputnik episode aroused the free world, here again was Mr. Kennan, this time on the BBC, telling Britain that there was no cause for alarm, that Victory for Our Side (through erosion of despotism, again) is inevitable. And now, with Nye Bevan's Socialists becoming a serious competitor for the policy-making jobs in the British Empire, Mr. Kennan has turned his rather formidable reputation to supporting exactly the policies which Bevan, almost alone, among British thinkers and politicians, supports.

\* Saturday Evening Post, about the first week in November, 1956.

EXP. PROC.

NOV 20 1957

12-13-57  
EJS  
p. 27

There is nothing in any of this to prove Mr. Kennan is working for the Communists. On the contrary, opinions like his have formed the basis for the complacency of most free-world intellectuals (with a few exceptions like Raymond Aron and Strausz-Hupé), which complacency undoubtedly occasions the "vicious circle of public apathy and political silence" regarding present perils, as one critic writes it. But the importance of Mr. Kennan outweighs most of these others; his reputation overawes most critics; and his public pronouncements are exceedingly accurately timed--a timing that suggests a masterly strategy with almost a foreknowledge of political crises to come.

Articles like the HARPER'S and SATEVEPOST are not easy to time this well, although some allowance must be made for the choice of editors regarding the time of publication. The author does have the initiative, however, in seeing that the article is in the proper hands somewhat before the crisis arises--if he has the foreknowledge thus implied.

I do not wish to add to the climate of suspicion and back-stabbing which is undoubtedly fostered by such vague suggestions--yet the immense potentialities for harm which a Communist agent in such a position would have, and the very remarkable timing of these public debates, and the precedent of other agents previously discovered in unlikely places in the Government, seem to argue that in this case any increased suspicion and mistrust which might be occasioned is worth-while. I rather doubt that Mr. Kennan is such an agent--but I think he should be, if he has not already been, investigated with exceeding thoroughness.

To be sure, Communist affiliations so discovered would not necessarily be a legal crime--and perhaps such an investigation would be outside the legitimate mission of the Bureau. In that case, the proper agency to submit this suggestion<sup>to</sup> seems to be a Congressional investigating committee. Please feel free to forward this communication to such a committee if you think it desirable.

Sincerely,

*Alfred B. Mason*

Alfred B. Mason  
Cdr (MC) USN

(P.S.: This letter is entirely my own idea and has nothing to do with the Navy.)

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Records Branch

7/11, 1957

☐ Name Check Unit - Room 6523  
☐ Service Unit - Room 6524  
☐ Forward to File Review  
☒ Attention Smith  
☒ Return to Wells 7647  
Supervisor Room Ext.

Type of References Requested:

☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search)  
☐ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)  
☐ Subversive References Only  
☐ Nonsubversive References Only  
☒ Main References Only

Type of Search Requested:

☐ Restricted to Locality of \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)  
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations  
☐ Check for Alphabetical Loyalty Form

(Frost)  
Subject George F. Newman  
Birthdate & Place 02/16/04  
Address Milwaukee, Wisc.

Localities

R# \_\_\_\_\_ Date 7/11 Searcher Initials WHL  
FILE NUMBER SERIAL

WP 62-81548  
95-37021 Lab. card.  
George Frost  
Nw main  
George  
62-81548  
67-File # not given  
G. F.  
Nw main  
WHL

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-28-98 BY SP4 BJA/DEW

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Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Records Branch

12-11, 1957

☐ Name Check Unit - Room 6523  
☐ Service Unit - Room 6524  
☐ Forward to File Review  
☐ Attention \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ Return to Sanders 2714  
Supervisor Room Ext.

## Type of References Requested:

☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search)  
☐ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)  
☐ Subversive References Only  
☐ Nonsubversive References Only  
☐ Main \_\_\_\_\_ References Only

## Type of Search Requested:

☐ Restricted to Locality of \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)  
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations  
☐ Check for Alphabetical Loyalty Form

Subject Alfred B. Mason  
 Birthdate & Place \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_

Localities \_\_\_\_\_

R# \_\_\_\_\_ Date 12-11 Searched \_\_\_\_\_  
Initials RE  
FILE NUMBER SERIAL

NI ✓ 87-13367  
Alfred  
NI ✓ 42-97309  
NI ✓ 25-356131  
NI ✓ 26-132086  
MF 15-1795  
NI ✓ 76-9228  
NI ✓ 9-17459  
26-132086-10  
28-493-1  
62-75147-37-113 encl, p23  
47-19031-1  
65-20667-2  
NI ✓ 98-4010-1

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DATE 10-28-98 BY SP4BJA/DFW

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

INDEXED - 47 DATE: 1/10/58

FROM : SAC, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-28-98 BY SP4 BJA/DFW

SUBJECT:

GEORGE KENNAN

5410933

Former Ambassador

MISCELLANEOUS INFO CONCERNING

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Trotter	
Mr. Clayton	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

On 1/10/58, Vice Admiral WALTER STRATTON ANDERSON (Retired), a former Director of Naval Intelligence, who resides at 1065 Lexington Avenue, NYC, called at this office and stated that he would like to have the Director know that he, ANDERSON, cannot understand the manner in which the above captioned individual, former Ambassador to Russia, is deporting himself.

ANDERSON stated that after KENNAN had been Ambassador to Russia for a short period of time, KENNAN traveled to Berlin where, in a public interview, he made some very derogatory statements concerning Russia. ANDERSON described this as an action which was either very stupid since KENNAN was still Ambassador to Russia, or else was designed to have KENNAN declared persona non grata.

Since that time, ANDERSON states, he has observed the actions of KENNAN closely although he has no personal acquaintance with KENNAN. He referred to the current lectures which KENNAN is giving at Oxford University and to statements of KENNAN's which are contrary to the present policy of the U.S. As examples he cited KENNAN's proposals that Germany be made a neutral country and that the U.S. withdraw its troops from Germany. ANDERSON observed that these are points which Russia has been working for and that in his statements KENNAN is, in effect, giving aid and comfort to the enemy.

Admiral ANDERSON has a son, also named WALTER STRATTON ANDERSON, who is a career officer in the foreign service of the State Department and who is presently stationed at Oslo, Norway. Admiral ANDERSON has been forwarding to his son newspaper accounts of KENNAN's articles and lectures and his son has on two occasions also expressed wonderment at KENNAN's actions and has raised the question as to whether KENNAN is another HISS. Admiral ANDERSON stated he does not believe KENNAN should be classified as another HISS but reiterated he cannot understand KENNAN's actions and statements and wanted the Director to know of this information.

2 - Bureau  
1 - New York  
WGS:mbr (4)

Letter to Director, FBI  
Re: GEORGE KENNAN  
Former Ambassador

Admiral ANDERSON was courteously thanked for furnishing this data and was informed that it would be brought to the attention of the Director.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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 DATE 10-28-98 BY SP4 BJA/DFW  
 40933

UPI-135

(KENNAN)

NEW HAVEN, CONN. -- GEORGE F. KENNAN, FORMER AMBASSADOR TO RUSSIA, WILL BE APPOINTED AMBASSADOR TO YUGOSLAVIA BY PRESIDENT KENNEDY, IT WAS LEARNED TODAY.  
 KENNAN, A MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES AT PRINCETON, CURRENTLY IS A VISITING PROFESSOR AT YALE UNIVERSITY WHERE, FOR THE PAST YEAR, HE HAS BEEN TEACHING POLITICAL SCIENCE.  
 ASKED ABOUT THE REPORTED APPOINTMENT, KENNAN SAID, "ANY COMMENT WILL HAVE TO COME FROM THE WHITE HOUSE."  
 KENNAN RETIRED FROM FOREIGN SERVICE IN 1953 AFTER SERVING AS AMBASSADOR TO RUSSIA.

1/24--N409PES

NOT RECORDED

117 JAN 31 1961

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52 JAN 31 1961

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

## Central Research Section

# Kennan Is Appointed Envoy to Yugoslavia

United Press International

President Kennedy yesterday named George F. Kennan, former envoy to the Soviet Union and an expert on relations with the Communist bloc, as Ambassador to Yugoslavia.

Mr. Kennedy also selected another veteran diplomat, Livingston T. Merchant, as Ambassador to Canada. Merchant served as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs in the Eisenhower Administration.

Kennan has been serving informally as an adviser to Mr. Kennedy and Secretary of State Dean Rusk on relations with Soviet Russia. He will participate in a high level meeting here this week to map new American approaches to better relations with the Soviet Union.

## Ousted by Reds

The 56-year-old Kennan retired from the diplomatic service shortly after the Russians ousted him from Moscow in 1953.

Although the Eisenhower Administration announced plans to draw on his knowledge of Russia following his retirement, there was no evidence that this was ever done.

Since his retirement, he has been a professor at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, N. J.

Merchant, who has been in the diplomatic service since 1942, will take over a post he has held before. He is 57 years old, a native of New York, and was an investment counselor before joining the State Department.

In 1952, Merchant was the second ranking member of the American mission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

He served for three years as Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, then went to Canada as Ambassador in 1956.

## Far East Expert Picked

President Kennedy has picked career diplomat U. Alexis Johnson, a veteran of negotiations with Communist China, as Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs.

An authoritative source confirmed that Johnson, 52, now U. S. Ambassador to Thailand, will replace J. Graham Parsons as the Far Eastern policy chief in the State Department.

In West Palm Beach, Fla., financier Earl E. T. Smith said he would be honored to represent the Kennedy Administration as Ambassador to Switzerland. Associated Press reported. He told the Post Times that he had been offered the position. Smith, a former (1957-59) Ambassador to Cuba, is a longtime friend of the Kennedy family. He also is former chairman of the Palm Beach County Republican Committee.

[President Kennedy has also chosen David L. Ladd, 34, Chicago attorney, to be Commissioner of Patents. A formal nomination, subject to Senate confirmation, will go to the Capitol soon.]

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

File  
5-6 [Signature]  
[Signature]

The Washington Post and Times Herald A-1  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
Date 2/9/61

62-81548-A

NOT RECORDED

117 FEB 10 1961

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DATE 10-28-98 BY SP4 BDA/DFW

# 410933

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57 FEB 13 1961

## Central Research Section

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 W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-28-98 BY SP4BJA/DFW

#410933

**Kennan to Yugoslavia**

THE return of George F. Kennan to Government service is a gain for the Government but a loss to the field of history. For several years he has been engaged in writing a comprehensive account of relations between the United States and Bolshevik Russia since the 1917 revolution.

One doesn't have to agree with all of Mr. Kennan's views to concede that he is a man of provocative ideas and a man of vast knowledge about and understanding of Russia, communism, and the current global power struggle.

President Kennedy's appointment of him to be Ambassador to Yugoslavia will place him in a very sensitive spot—sensitive to the pullings and haulings that go on eternally within the international communist movement. Mr. Kennan will be able to discuss on equal terms with the Yugoslavs the intra-communist ideological struggle, which now embraces Red China, because he, too, is a long-time student of that struggle.

Mr. Kennan was declared persona non

grata by the Soviets when he was ambassador there during the early days of the Eisenhower Administration. And then the unfortunate disagreement between Mr. Kennan and the late John Foster Dulles led to Mr. Kennan's departure from the Government at a time when the country needed all the experts and ideas on Soviet policies it could get.

Mr. Kennan is best known for his post-war containment policy of Russia which, despite some critics, still is the fundamental U. S. policy—to try to prevent the expansion of Soviet influence anywhere else in the world.

One thing is certain: the State Department will welcome the flow of Kennan reports and dispatches from Belgrade. Over the years of his previous Government service the files are filled with extraordinarily lucid and perceptive reports from Moscow—some written during the World War II U. S.-USSR honeymoon. These predicted very accurately the intransigent policy the Soviets were to pursue on the international stage after the war.

Washington Post and \_\_\_\_\_  
 Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_

The Washington Daily News 24  
 The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 Date 2/10/61

FILE  
 in Kennan's File  
 E. duBois

62-81548-  
 NOT RECORDED

117 FEB 14 1961

57 FEB 15 1961

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 11-6-63

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-12-99 BY SP4BSA/DRW

# 410933

Pages 19999-20002. Senator Fulbright, (D) Arkansas, spoke concerning comments made by other congressmen regarding a statement by Mr. George Kennan, former Ambassador to Yugoslavia, in connection with congressional politics interfering with our foreign affairs and our foreign policy. Mr. Fulbright stated "I regret that anyone should criticize his efforts to enlighten the American people and Members of this body about our relations with Yugoslavia specifically, or Eastern Europe generally, or with the Kremlin. His views are deserving of great weight. I would certainly not say they were infallible, but there is no more thoughtful man or student of our relations with Eastern Europe and Russia in or out of government." Mr. Fulbright submitted an article from Look magazine for November 18th written by J. Robert Moskin and entitled "Our Foreign Policy Is Paralyzed." This article stated "How can the United States rid itself of the jellylike indecision that paralyzes our foreign policy? Kennan points to three alternatives: - - - His second alternative is to modify our political system. 'Our form of Government is not well suited to making decisions.' The reason for this, he says, is that 'power is too much fragmented in Washington, including the Congress, the Armed Forces, the FBI - all the people who decide our national actions.'"

62-81548  
NOT RECORDED  
170 NOV 15 1963

In the original captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 66 NOV 19 1963 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

ORIGINAL FILED IN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont *WCS*

DATE: November 12, 1963

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCS 11/14*SUBJECT: ARTICLE ENTITLED "CONGRESSIONAL POLITICS  
HURT FOREIGN POLICY, KENNAN SAYS"  
WASHINGTON SUNDAY STAR, 11/3/63

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

Re memo Jones to DeLoach dated 11/7/63. Referenced memo discussed an article by Bernard Gwertzman which appeared in "The Washington Star" on 11/3/63 dealing with the views on our foreign policy expressed by George Frost Kennan, former U. S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia. According to Gwertzman, Kennan said Congress is not the only body hampering foreign policy as there is also interference from other Government agencies. He allegedly singled out the Immigration Service and the FBI in the matter of passports, visas, and re-entry permits, saying personnel of these 2 agencies have acted in ways contrary to the policy of the State Department regarding Yugoslavia. Gwertzman has Kennan saying that "many of the people (in the Immigration Service and the FBI) were going on the assumption that Yugoslavia was a member of the Soviet bloc, a thesis contrary to our own observations and to the established analysis of the department."

Mr. Tolson suggested that we have someone talk to Kennan and straighten him out and the Director said, "Yes. Send someone from here. H."

In accordance with Mr. Tolson's instructions, I have made an appointment to discuss Ambassador Kennan's alleged statements with him at Princeton, New Jersey, on 11/15/63. I will furnish the results of our conversation promptly upon completion.

ACTION:

For information.

DJB:mls (6)  
1-Mr. Belmont  
1-Mr. Mohr  
1-Mr. DeLoach  
1-Mr. Sullivan  
1-Liaison

62-81548-  
NOT RECORDED  
184 NOV 19 1963

14 NOV 15 1963

XEROX

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DATE 2-12-99 BY SP4 BJA/DFW  
410933

LIAISON

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-11109415

74 NOV 29 1963



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *AB*

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS 12-14-63*

SUBJECT: PROFESSOR GEORGE FROST KENNAN  
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

DATE: November 15, 1963

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. J.P. Mohr  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. J.A. Sizoo  
1 - Mr. D.E. Moore

Tolson ☒  
Belmont ☒  
Mohr ☒  
Casper ☒  
Callahan ☒  
Conrad ☒  
DeLoach ☒  
Evans ☒  
Gale ☒  
Rosen ☒  
Sullivan ☒  
Tavel ☒  
Trotter ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Holmes ☒  
Gandy ☒

George F. KENNAN

I just completed a two and one-half hour discussion with Professor Kennan. He immediately told me of the great esteem in which he holds the Director and of his admiration for the work of the FBI. In view of this, he told me he was very distressed at the article in "Look" magazine which completely misquoted him relative to the FBI and national policy making. He voluntarily offered to make a public statement correcting this, if the Director wanted it. He said he would write a letter to the Director and if this was not satisfactory he would go to Washington to discuss the matter with Mr. Hoover if this was desired.

In regard to Liaison activities and intelligence information on Yugoslavia, Professor Kennan said that when he was Ambassador to Yugoslavia he did experience a marked lack of information. I explained to him that we disseminated regularly information to which he referred to the Department of State. Professor Kennan then said that the breakdown in Liaison must be within the Department of State and he might write to that Department about it.

Professor Kennan had no other observations to make about the work of the FBI other than to say that he has always regarded the work of the FBI with great admiration and was well aware of our efficiency.

Professor Kennan was very friendly throughout, seemed to be sincerely concerned over what was published. He said he never did have an opportunity to read the article in "Look" before it was published and he would not be caught this way again.

He asked me to extend his warmest personal regards to Mr. Hoover. I assured him I would do this.

Further details in regard to this discussion will be submitted on my return to the Seat of Government.

RECOMMENDATION: EX-102

68 DEC 23 1963

For the information of the Director.

WCS:djw

CRIME RESEARCH

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-28-98 BY SP4BSA/DPW  
410933

November 18, 1963

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Evans	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am writing to tell you how deeply I appreciated the courtesy of Mr. Sullivan's visit, and particularly the tactful and understanding manner in which        listened to what I had to say. It is really I who should have paid the visit to the Bureau; for the way in which the statement appeared was definitely misleading and unfair to the Bureau, and I owe an apology to yourself and to the Bureau as a whole. Whether I actually said what was attributed to me in the LOOK article, I do not know; I had no opportunity to see the text of the interview before it appeared; and I kept no record of the long discussions I had with Mr. Moskin last August, from which the article was culled. But it was my responsibility to see that misimpressions of this nature were not conveyed; and I am heartily sorry that I did not meet this responsibility more effectively and that the Bureau, in particular, for which I have always had greatest respect, was the victim.

I hope that you and your associates will continue to think of me as a friend of the Bureau and an admirer of its work, and that your staff will continue to call on me in instances where I can be of some small help.

Very sincerely,

George F. Kennan

The Honorable  
J. Edgar Hoover,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

*George Frost Kennan*  
REC 37  
62-8154830

11 DEC 18 1963

COPY:emm

For Rep. only  
Mailing List  
Change Noted  
11/22/63

EXP. PROC.

NOV 19 1963

240

GEORGE F. KENNAN  
146 Hodge Road  
Princeton, New Jersey

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-12-99 BY SP4 BJA/DFW

5410933

November 18, 1963.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am writing to tell you how deeply I appreciated the courtesy of Mr. Sullivan's visit, and particularly the tactful and understanding manner in which he listened to what I had to say. It is really I who should have paid the visit to the Bureau; for the way in which the statement appeared was definitely misleading and unfair to the Bureau, and I owe an apology to yourself and to the Bureau as a whole. Whether I actually said what was attributed to me in the LOOK article, I do not know; I had no opportunity to see the text of the interview before it appeared; and I kept no record of the long discussions I had with Mr. Mockin last August, from which the article was culled. But it was my responsibility to see that misimpressions of this nature were not conveyed; and I am heartily sorry that I did not meet this responsibility more effectively and that the Bureau, in particular, for which I have always had greatest respect, was the victim.

I hope that you and your associates will continue to think of me as a friend of the Bureau and an admirer of its work, and I will continue to call on me

Yours Honorably

(over)

J. Edgar Hoover,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

in instances where I can be of some small help.

Very sincerely,

George F. Keim

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-28-98 BY SP4 BJA/DPW

410933

November 26, 1963

REC 37

62-81548 30

Honorable George F. Kennan  
146 Hodge Road  
Princeton, New Jersey

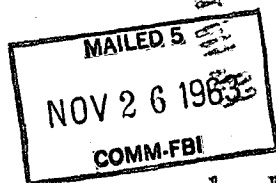
Dear Mr. Kennan:

Mr. Hoover received your letter of  
November 18th as he was preparing to depart from the  
city, and asked me to thank you for writing as you did.

Sincerely yours,

Helen W. Gandy  
Secretary

NOV 26 10 18 AM '63  
REC'D--READING ROOM  
FBI



- 1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Belmont - Enclosure

NOTE: Mr. Sullivan to Mr. Belmont Memorandum dated 11-15-63  
captioned: "Professor George Frost Kennan, Princeton University"  
informs the Director of Sullivan's discussion with Mr. Kennan concerning  
"Look" magazine's article by J. Robert Moskin. Kennan acknowledged  
his "inefficiency" for allowing this article to be published before he could  
catch this "breach." Kennan has always admired the FBI and its work.  
The Director noted, "I am not impressed with his explanation. Bufiles  
reflect Kennan in the past has maintained cordial relations with the Bureau

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

DTP:sls  
(5)

(See next page)

68 DEC 27 1963

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

DTP/JCF

**Mr. George F. Kennan**

**and furnished helpful and pertinent material while he was with the State Department. Kennan is well known as an author and former Ambassador to the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia prior to his current position at Princeton University.**

~~SECRET~~

[1/17/64] ~~JS~~

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, [WFO (105-49745)] ~~JS~~  
SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

(S) [IS - YU  
(OO:WFO)] GEORGE F. KENNAN

ReWFOairtel, 1/9/64, captioned "Yugoslav Intelligence  
Activities in the U.S.; IS-YU." ~~JS~~

INFORMATION SET FORTH IN ATTACHED LHM  
WAS OBTAINED FROM A HIGHLY SENSITIVE  
SOURCE AND THE SECURITY OF THIS SOURCE  
MUST BE CONSIDERED IN ANY DISSEMINATION  
OF THIS MATERIAL.

Enclosed to the Bureau are five copies of LHM,  
dated and captioned as above.

The source referred to in attached LHM is [REDACTED] ~~JS~~

Attached LHM is classified "~~Secret~~" inasmuch as  
information contained therein was obtained from a highly  
sensitive source. In the event of downgrading, it would  
warrant a classification of "~~Confidential~~" since it reveals  
the Bureau's investigative interest in a foreign diplomatic  
establishment. ~~JS~~

ENCLOSURE - Bureau (Encl. 5)  
2 - [WFO] ~~JS~~  
(1) [REDACTED] ~~JS~~

JRF:sch  
(5)

AIRTEL

*Verif of encl  
sent to White House, 1/21/64  
JRF*

NOT RECORDED

183 JAN 28 1964 ~~JS~~

7-16-99  
CLASSIFIED BY SP4BJA/DPW  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1,6  
D410933

~~SECRET~~

b6  
b7C

b7D

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-361109-112



~~SECRET~~  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

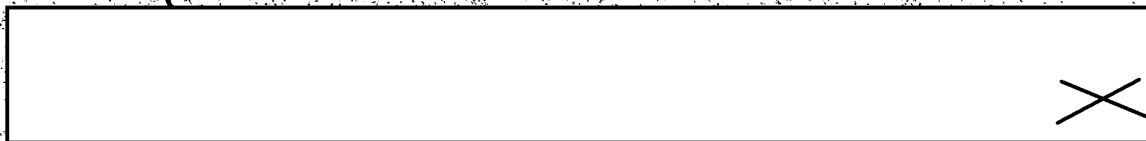
In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

January 17, 1964 ~~(S)~~

~~INTERNAL SECURITY - YU~~ ~~(S)~~

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, learned during January, 1964, that



This document contains neither  
recommendations nor conclusions of  
the FBI. It is the property of  
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;  
it and its contents are not to be  
distributed outside your agency.

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

7-16-99  
CLASSIFIED BY SP4 BJA/DFW  
DECLASSIFY ON: ~~EX-1, 6~~  
1410933

~~SECRET~~

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification



5/6/64

~~SECRET~~

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (109-237)

FROM: SAC, WFO (109-47)

U. S. - YUGOSLAV RELATIONS  
IS - YU

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

*GEORGE F. KENNAN*

ReWFOairtel 4/30/64, captioned, "YUGOSLAV INTELLIGENCE  
ACTIVITIES IN THE U. S., IS - YU." ~~(S)~~

INFORMATION IN ATTACHED LHM WAS OBTAINED  
FROM A HIGHLY SENSITIVE SOURCE AND THE  
SECURITY OF THIS SOURCE MUST BE CONSIDERED  
IN ANY DISSEMINATION OF THIS MATERIAL.

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of an LHM  
dated and captioned as above.

The source referred to in attached LHM is  ~~(S)~~

The attached LHM has been classified "~~Secret~~"  
inasmuch as information contained therein was obtained from  
a highly sensitive source. In the event of downgrading it  
would warrant a classification of "~~Confidential~~" [since it  
reveals the Bureau's investigative interest in a diplomatic  
establishment.] ~~(S)~~

3 - Bureau (Enc. 5)

2 - WFO

(1 - ) ~~(S)~~

JRF:kls  
(5)

AIRTEL

7-14-99  
CLASSIFIED BY SP4 BJA/DPW  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X-1, 6

62-81548  
NOT RECORDED  
150 MAY 14 1964

~~SECRET~~

64 MAY 19 1964

ORIGINAL FILED IN 109 237 137

b7D



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D.C. 20535

May 6, 1964

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

UNITED STATES - YUGOSLAV RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - YU

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable  
information in the past, advised during the latter part of  
April, 1964, that [REDACTED]

b7D

7-16-99

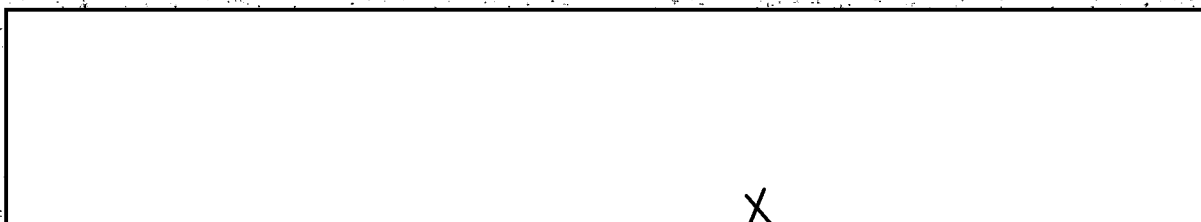
CLASSIFIED BY SP4 BJA/DFW  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1,6  
E410933

~~SECRET~~

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES - YUGOSLAV RELATIONS



b7D

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recommendations nor conclusions of  
the FBI. It is the property of  
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;  
it and its contents are not to be  
distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS-814*

FROM : R. W. Smith *RWS*

SUBJECT: *esa* BOOK REVIEW: "ON DEALING WITH  
THE COMMUNIST WORLD" BY  
GEORGE F. KENNAN  
CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER  
(62-46855)

DATE: July 24, 1964

*Handwritten initials and checkmarks:*  
Belmont ✓  
Mohr ✓  
Casper ✓  
Callahan ✓  
Conrad ✓  
DeLoach ✓  
Evans ✓  
Gale ✓  
Rosen ✓  
Sullivan ✓  
Tavel ✓  
Trotter ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Holmes ✓  
Gandy ✓

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 2-16-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
5410933

Captioned book, just published by Harper & Row, New York, consists of lectures written and delivered by George F. Kennan following his return to the United States after two years (1961-1963) as American Ambassador to Yugoslavia.

## No Choice but Peaceful Coexistence

Kennan expresses misgivings about any concept which envisages the overthrow of Soviet power either by the direct use of armed force or by the incitement of communist-bloc peoples to revolt. He holds that vast and far-reaching changes have occurred in the Soviet Union since Stalin's day, and that important political changes will continue in that country, but only on the foundation of and within the framework of the present political system, which is now firmly established. He sees the gradual evolution of the Soviet Union as offering hope that it may someday assume an acceptable place in the community of nations. While Kennan says he is no advocate of "spineless pacifism," he feels the West has no choice but to accept the quest for peaceful coexistence as the basis for its policy toward communist countries.

## East-West Trade Aids Peace

Kennan takes a dim view of a policy designed to discourage trade between the Soviet bloc and the West as a means of impeding the military-industrial development of the Soviet Union. On the contrary, he maintains that increased East-West trade would encourage the development of a healthy and economic independence within the Soviet bloc. Trade would help the Eastern European satellites to achieve a measure of independence and flexibility in their foreign

1-Mr. Belmont  
1-Mr. DeLoach  
1-Mr. Sullivan

1-Mr. Baumgardner  
1-Research-Satellite Section  
1-Miss Butler

1-Mr. Garner

RSG:bb

(8)

61 AUG 17 1964

EX 110

SENT DIRECTOR  
7-28-64

RESEARCH SATELLITE

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-46855-1

Memo Smith to Sullivan

Re: BOOK REVIEW: "ON DEALING WITH  
THE COMMUNIST WORLD" BY GEORGE F. KENNAN

economic relations. But Kennan warns that to demand political concessions as a quid pro quo for normal commercial transactions is only another way of renouncing trade altogether, for communist countries will never yield to such demands.

### Shattered Communist-Bloc Unity

Kennan recognizes the disintegration of the extreme concentration of power in Moscow which characterized the communist bloc in the immediate postwar period, and the emergence in its place of a plurality of independent or partially independent centers of political authority, which has been termed polycentrism. What was once a unified and disciplined bloc has deteriorated into something more like an uneasy alliance between two ideologically similar commonwealths: one grouped around the Soviet Union, the other around Red China. Kennan foresees the possibility of some armed conflicts along the Sino-Soviet border, although he doubts their escalation into a full-scale war between the two nations.

### East-West Dilemmas

Both the communist world and the free world are confronted with serious dilemmas, Kennan points out. The communist bloc faces the basic question of whether to conceive of the world in terms of an irreconcilable and deadly struggle which can only be solved through war (the Chinese view), or whether to recognize that communism can be advanced by more sophisticated, more gradual, and more peaceful ways (the Soviet view).

The West is confronted by a fundamental problem of whether to promote a trend toward further polycentrism in the hope that there might prove to be a portion of the communist world with which we could contrive to live, or whether to discourage that trend on the theory that a differentiation of outlook and authority among communist powers does not materially affect their status as a threat to the West's security.

### George F. Kennan

Kennan is a well-known author and is considered an "expert" on Russia and communism by reason of his long foreign service career. He is a man of varied and strong convictions. Some of the controversial positions he has taken include the postwar containment policy of preventing further Soviet expansion, admission of Red China to the United Nations, withdrawal of all Allied troops from Europe, and

Memo Smith to Sullivan

Re: BOOK REVIEW: "ON DEALING WITH THE  
COMMUNIST WORLD" BY GEORGE F. KENNAN

denial of missiles to North Atlantic Treaty Organization nations.

Kennan testified in the J. Robert Oppenheimer hearings that Oppenheimer had a great mind and had given him intelligent advice while Kennan was in the State Department. During the FBI investigation of Kennan for his post as Ambassador to Yugoslavia, three individuals interviewed considered him "too soft" toward the Soviet Union.

An article in "Look" magazine, 11/19/63, set forth Kennan's foreign policy views and quoted him as criticizing the Congress, the Armed Forces, and the FBI for making national policy. When he was later interviewed by a Bureau representative concerning this, Kennan apologized, claiming that he had been misquoted and had not seen the article before it was published. Regarding Kennan's explanation, the Director noted: "I am not impressed with his explanation. H." Kennan also wrote a letter to the Bureau in which he again apologized for the slip-up.

Bufiles show that Kennan in the past has expressed admiration for the Bureau, has maintained cordial relations with us, and furnished helpful and pertinent material while he was with the State Department.

No Reference to FBI

The book contains no reference to either the Director or the FBI.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

*DEM/mau*  
*Wes*  
*PS*  
*It appears Kennan*  
*has been gradually*  
*but surely "brain"*  
*washed.*

RA

REG 48 62-81548-32

July 14, 1965

[Redacted Address]

Worthington, Ohio

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 2-16-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
410933

b6  
b7C

Dear [Redacted Name]

Your recent letter was received on July 12th, and the interest which prompted you to communicate with me is both understandable and reassuring. It was good of you to furnish me your observations concerning threats being made by the Communist Party upon our way of life.

I would like to take this means to assure you that there has been no lessening whatsoever in the attack upon this country by the Communist Party, USA, or by the communist-bloc countries. You may be sure this Bureau is ever cognizant of its jurisdiction in the internal security field and will continue making every effort to discharge its responsibilities with the highest degree of thoroughness and dispatch.

The pages from "Presbyterian Life" which you furnished are being returned, and I am enclosing some material which I hope you will find of interest.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 11  
JUL 14 1965  
COMM-FBI

JUL 14 1 40 PM '65  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

Enclosures (3)  
An Army of Free Men  
Internal Security Statement 4-17-62  
JRP/ufp

(3) (See note next page)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

[REDACTED]

NOTE: There is no record of correspondent in Bufiles. George F. Kennan, presently an established source, was former Ambassador to the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. He is presently associated with the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University. During 1956 following Kennan's statement to the effect he would not try to obstruct admitting Red China to the United Nations, the Director commented that apparently this Ambassador had fallen for the Soviet line. During 1963 an article he wrote which criticized the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Bureau in the matter of passports, visas and re-entry permits appeared in the "Congressional Record." He remarked that the two agencies were not in one accord with the State Department concerning Yugoslavia. His comments apparently were based upon a misconception he held that this country was not a member of the Soviet-bloc. The Director instructed that he be contacted and straightened out.



TRUE COPY



b6  
b7C

Worthington, Ohio

F.B.I.  
Washington, D.C.  
Mr Edgar J. Hoover:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-16-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

#410933

Dear Mr Hoover:

I have read your books and speeches and have followed your career with interest and appreciation. The American people owe you a great debt of gratitude for your services in crime prevention and your vigilance and fight against Communism. Thus it is, I turn to you for help. The July 15th issue of Presbyterian Life just arrived. This magazine goes to everyone who is a member of the Pres. church.

There is an article by George Kennar - that infuriated me. One would assume that he is a expert on Communism since he was ambassador to Russia for so many years.

It is distressing and maddening to find he has written a whitewash of Communism & the whole conspiracy. He insist, one cannot be simply against Communism since there are so many different kinds. He ignores the part that whether Russian, Chinese, Cuban, etc they all wish to see our way of life destroyed. He states "It is no exaggeration to say that the influence of the American Communist Party today in our society is negligible."

I'm sure you will agree with me that a rebuttal be written to Mr. Kennar s article. Only a man of your stature would be read or listened to. Kknow you will see the importance of correcting Mr Kennar's impression that the influence of Communism is negligible in this country. I hope and pray you will find time to do this Mr. Hoover. Hope to hear from you.

Sincerily

da



REC 48

62-81548-32

15 JUL 15 1965

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

17C 7-12-65  
ackd 7-14-65  
JRP: log da  
ENCLOSURE  
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PK-14

Worthington, Ohio

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J. B. I.  
Washington, D.C.  
Mr. Edgar G. Hoover:

REC'D-CORR. & TOURS  
FBI

JUL 12 12 04 PM '65

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have read your books and  
speeches and have followed your career  
with interest and appreciation. The  
American people owe you a great debt  
of gratitude for your services in crime  
prevention and your vigilance and fight  
against Communism. Thus it is I  
turn to you for help. The July  
15th issue of Presbyterian Life just  
arrived

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7-14-65  
JRP: Long/14/18

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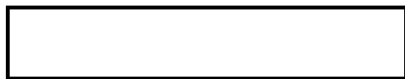


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Worthington, Ohio

arrived. This magazine goes to everyone who is a member of the Pres. church. There is an article by George Kennan - that infuriated me. One would assume that he is an expert on Communism since he was ambassador to Russia for so many years.

It is distressing and maddening to find he has written a white wash of Communism & the whole conspiracy. He insists one cannot be simply against Communism since there are so many different breeds. He ignores the fact that whether



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Russian, Chinese, Cuban, etc. they  
all wish to see our way of life destroyed.  
He states " it is no exaggeration to  
say that the influence of the  
American Communist Party today  
in our society is negligible. "

I'm sure you will agree with me  
that a rebuttal be written to  
Mr. Kenman's article. Only a  
man of your stature would be read  
or listened to. I know you  
will see the importance of countering  
Mr. Kenman's impression that the



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influence of Communism is negligible  
in this country. I hope and  
pray you will find time to do this  
Mr. Haas. Hope to hear from  
you.

Sincerely



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ENCLOSURE

July 15, 1965

# PRESBYTERIAN LIFE



Crossroads Africa: A Means Toward Peaceful Change

- The Ethics of Anti-Communism
- The Bible in the King's Thai
- Going All Out to Reach Adolescents

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# The Sources and Uses of Strength

*Read: Joshua 1:1-9; Ephesians 6:10-17; Isaiah 40:31.*

A good many years ago a friend sent to me an invitation he found printed on a church bulletin which he thought was very beautiful. It said:

"To all who sorrow and need comfort;  
To all who are weary and need rest;  
To all who are weak and need strength;  
We bid you welcome. Come to the House of God  
and here lay your burdens down."

I studied it for a while and then decided that it would be useful in our church if it were put exactly the other way around. So when it was in our church bulletin, it said:

"To all who are joyful and need God's blessing  
on their joy;  
To all who are vital and need great purposes;  
To all who are strong and need to find the  
glorious uses of their strength;  
We bid you welcome.  
Come to the House of God and here take your  
burdens up."

I was afraid that the first invitation implied that the church is for weaklings. It seemed to say that if you are so dispirited and ailing that you cannot make it on your own, then the church can prop you up with such aids for the falling as prayer and faith and talk about God. But if you are a strong person, vigorous and independent and gay, then you can forget about God and pass up the church. Often the church is not so much a hospital for the weak as it is a gymnasium for those who glory in their strength.

The whole truth, however, is that the church is both. We need both sorts of invitations on our bulletin. That is not because we have two sorts of people in our congregations, but because every one of us has two sorts of needs. Those who live with God live in the surging exaltation with which Habakkuk soars up to his great conclusion: "I will rejoice in the LORD, I will joy in the God of my salvation. God, the LORD, is my strength; he makes my feet like hinds' feet, he makes me tread upon my high places." No doubt some of you go to church feeling like the young deer, prancing and scampering and exulting on the hilltops. But we also come to church saying, "Out of the depths I cry to thee, O Lord!

LORD, hear my voice!" This is not always for separate Sundays. So complex are we that on the same Sunday a part of us can be exulting in strength while at the same time, deep within us, there is another part that is crying out for help. The twelve-year-old who is bursting with vitality can also feel lost and bewildered. The fullback who yesterday was charging down the field festooned with tacklers can plummet from the victory celebration to the depths of personal discouragement.

One thing we can be sure of is that, for everyone who is human, life will be a sore fight from the beginning to the end. The sweet old thing with the cane and the shawl does not need God's help any more than the vigorous battler who is in the thick of the struggle.

It is not the weaklings in the Bible who have given us the assurances of God's help. It is Joshua, the intrepid general, who heard God say, "Be strong and of good courage; be not frightened, neither be dismayed; for the LORD your God is with you." It is David, the giant killer and hero king, who said, "In my distress I called upon the LORD. . . . God is my strong refuge." It is the hard-driving and dauntless apostle, who boasted, "I can do all things in him who strengtheneth me."

I have never forgotten some advice which a doctor, a gynecologist indeed, gave at a meeting of college students who were looking for vocational guidance. One of the girls asked him about social work. He answered, "I strongly advise against it; leave that for older women who may not take it so much to heart." Then he explained that a girl who is a caseworker will go to a home where the children are being terribly treated. She will work out a budget for the family, and arrange for the man to get a job, and secure some counseling for the mother. Then in two weeks she goes back, and everyone is more miserable than ever. So she writes it all up in her file, and that night she cannot sleep. The doctor said, "She will probably have a dozen other cases like that, and pretty soon I will get her for a patient." Then he added, "There is just one exception; a girl who has a strong and very meaningful religious faith would probably be able to take it." There it is—the greater people we are, in our striving and our feeling, the more we will need the strength that God can give. That is true whether what threatens to break us up is other people's families or our own.

Strength to stand anything that life can do to us is the great promise of the Christian faith. It offers to make us victorious over anything that fate can bring. It lets us know that happiness is possible.

---

—GEORGE E. SWEAZEY, *Pastor*  
Webster Groves Presbyterian Church  
St. Louis, Missouri



# PRESBYTERIAN LIFE

A JOURNAL OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

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AND

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**THE COVER.** In this photograph of an American girl and an African woman at a village market in Ghana, photographer James Foote has captured the feeling of friendship existing between two persons despite a wide disparity of race and culture. This kind of relationship is a common experience for members of "Operation Crossroads Africa" teams. More of Mr. Foote's incisive photographs of this unique venture are found beginning on page 8.

George F. Kennan, whose perceptive essay, *The Right Way to Counter Communism*, appears on page 5, is currently a professor both at the Institute for Advanced Study, in Princeton, N.J., and at Princeton University. Presbyterian Kennan has served as United States Ambassador both to Russia and to Yugoslavia, and is an authority on the history and attitudes of the Communist world.

Mrs. Freddie Saunders, author of *Why Migrant Children Fail in School* (p. 17), has been the principal of an elementary school in Mission, Texas, for twenty-two years. The community is on the border of the United States and Mexico, in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas. Mrs. Saunders is now working with the second generation of families who traditionally follow the maturing of crops over a large area of the United States, but continue to call Mission, Texas, their home base.

The Reverend Herbert G. Grether, who wrote *From the King's English to the King's Thai*, is an expert on the problems of translating the Scriptures into Thai, having spent the last several years working on a revision of the Thai Bible. In a previous article (June 15, 1965), fraternal worker Grether told of the problems and possibilities of Christianity in modern Thailand.

In 1952 Ambassador Kennan was forced to leave Soviet Union when remarks he allegedly made offended Russians. Below, he arrives in Frankfurt, Germany, railway station.



## The Right Way to

# Counter Communism

*by George F. Kennan*

**I** SUPPOSE it's only fair that I should be asked to lead a discussion of "the ethics of anti-communism." The last thirty-seven years of my life have been preoccupied mostly, in one way or another, with the problem of international communism. And it seems to me that I have stood pretty much in the center of the brickbats that fly back and forth in this connection. I have a respectable collection of abusive and sometimes unprintable letters from people who think that I haven't been anti-communist enough. On the other hand, I am one of the few Americans who have had the distinction of being thrown out of Stalin's Russia on charges of being too anti-Soviet. And I can remember a certain week, in 1950, when the walls of Rio de Janeiro were decorated with hundreds of great tar inscriptions saying: "To death with Kennan." These were inscriptions put there by the local communists. I was buried repeatedly in effigy at that time, incidentally, by Brazilian communist students, who did me the moving courtesy of putting a

white cross on the little black coffin they used for this purpose.

Nobody can be blamed for being exercised about international communism. There has been plenty to be exercised about. I think a healthy capacity for moral indignation is essential to understanding what communism is all about. In our Embassy in Moscow, when we got a new young officer assigned to us who had been trained in the Russian language, if, on first confrontation with the Soviet newspapers in the morning, he didn't rise from his desk and go storming around the office saying, "Look, what these so-and-so's have said today!"—if he didn't do this, he was no good to us. It was a case where you had first to be capable of getting angry in order to understand what was up; and then you had to learn to control your anger.

The Soviet leaders obviously do not wish us well. Their ideology forbids them to do so. If they had their way, little would remain, I am sure, of our world position or of the things we value here at home.

But despite all this, I must say that I find the term "anti-communism" a very misleading one.

First of all, if you are going to talk, today, about anti-communism, you have to begin by answering the question: anti-whose-communism? Karl Marx's, or Lenin's, or Stalin's, or Mao's, or Gomulka's, or even Tito's, since he himself insists on using the term? These are by no means identical. Not even the communists themselves pretend any longer that they are. If all you say is that you are "against communism," you haven't made yourself very clear. You cannot simply say, "I am against them all," because in some respects the various outlooks that go by the name of communism are not just different but are actually in conflict with each other, so that you can't be against one of them in all its aspects without being, by implication, in favor of another one in those same aspects.

Suppose, then, you pick a certain communist country—let us say the Soviet Union—and say, "When I talk about anti-communism, it is this country I mean and it is the communism of this country I am against." But there are two things you could have in mind when you express yourself in this way: One, the present reality of the Soviet system with its internal institutions and practices; the way the regime treats its own citizens; and so on. Or, two, its external behavior: things it does on the world scene which affect adversely our interests and those of world peace, and which strike us as unjust or deceitful or aggressive.

Now these two things are not the same. We may not like the internal practices and institutions of the Soviet system, but so long as they don't have external effects that damage our interest, they are not really our business. Unless we have such dreams of grandeur that we picture ourselves as fit to rule the world, which I think very few of us do, then the golden rule is obviously going to apply here: We must agree to let Russians be Russians, and not try to substitute our conscience for theirs.

Perhaps you simply like to use the term "anti-communism" to record your abhorrence of the theory and practice of government which you understand to prevail in Russia. You can't mean, surely, that you are against *all* the institutions and practices of the Soviet system. There are a great many things that take place under the authority of, and in the name of, that system that are not all reprehensible: Schools are taught; people heal the sick, scientists pursue the quest for knowledge. Perhaps these things serve communism to some degree; the regime has often tried to make them do so. But this is not all they serve. Teachers teach, as they do here, because this is their pride and their profession and they feel it important that young people should be taught. Doctors heal for similar reasons. And scientists pursue their research because, like scientists everywhere, they have learned the nobility and the excitement of the quest for knowledge.

Obviously, it is not *all* features of communism that

we are against—only certain ones. But the sweeping term "anti-communism" does not suggest this.

And if we take just those things that we do definitely dislike in a communist system—such things as governmental hypocrisy, denial of civil liberties, the deliberate use of the big lie, automatic abuse and denigration of fallen statesmen—then we have to recognize that it is not in communist countries alone that such things are to be found; nor are they made any worse, just because they go under the banner of communism. Yet this, too, the term "anti-communism" does not suggest. It is, in fact, definitely misleading in this case; because it seems to carry the implication that we think these evils are confined to a single political system in a single part of the world, and that all other civilizations are wholly immune to them.

But suppose we turn for a moment to that aspect of international communism about which we do have a right to protest: to the behavior of communist regimes as actors on the world scene. Here again, we come up against great variations among communist governments. We have our problems with the Yugoslav government, but I am here to testify, after just spending two and a half years in that country, that the way it conducts itself in international affairs is as different from the conduct of the Chinese Communists, or of Yugoslavia's Albanian neighbors, as night is from day. The attitudes taken towards us by such diverse regimes as say the Soviet one, the Cuban, the Chinese, the Hungarian, and the Polish represent quite different problems for U.S. policy. To try to sum up our response to all of them by saying that our policy is one of "anti-communism" is simply not meaningful.

I can think of certain non-communist governments whose behavior towards us and towards the international community generally in recent years has been by no means superior to that of certain communist governments I could name. Do we really wish, by using the term "anti-communist," to obscure all this; to leave the implication that falsehood, malice, cantankerousness, irresponsibility, territorial expansionism, and aggressive behavior either do not exist in the behavior of non-communist states or are reprehensible only when they go by the name of communism? If not, why use the term "anti-communist"? Why not be specific? Why not oppose these phenomena, as such, wherever we encounter them?

Now how about anti-communism as a term relating to political forces within our own national life?

Never strong in membership or even in voter support, the American Communist Party nevertheless gained considerable moral influence, especially in intellectual circles, during the 1930's. This was primarily a result of the shattering effect of economic crisis and the loss of confidence in established American values which that crisis occasioned. The communists were greatly aided by their ability to identify at that time with anti-fascist groups generally, particularly in the

case of the Spanish Civil War. They capitalized extensively on the revulsion to fascism which swept over the liberal West.

With the development of the so-called cold war in the late 1940's, the strength and influence of the American Communist Party began to decline rapidly. Even at the time of the anti-communist hysteria in the early 1950's, it already was a very minor force in our society. Today it is a tiny and pathetic little band of people embracing, I suppose, not much more than five thousand members, if that, or something less than one hundredth part of one per cent of our adult population. It is no exaggeration to say that the influence of the American Communist Party today in our society is negligible. If you were to comb the country, you would have a hard time finding a less influential group.

I have had many occasions, in the past 40 years, to know and observe people who are communists. Some of them were indeed brutal, treacherous and dangerous people. But others were idealists: people acting out of the deepest bewilderment and despair and misguided courage and desire to find the right answer. I must confess to you that deeply as I have disagreed with these people, and profoundly as I have deplored the methods and tactics to which they were led to subscribe, there have been many instances where I have had more respect for them, in all their error and all their hopelessness, than for many pillars of respectable American society, vegetating in the smugness and selfishness and superficiality of their particular brand of philistinism.

To err, as we all know, is only human; and there is not one of us who does not do it with the greatest of regularity. To err with courage, with conviction, with self-sacrifice, and out of the agony of the soul, can at least be said to be tragic. But to err out of cowardice, of complacency, of jealousy, of vindictiveness or of greed, has not even this to be said for it; and I am not

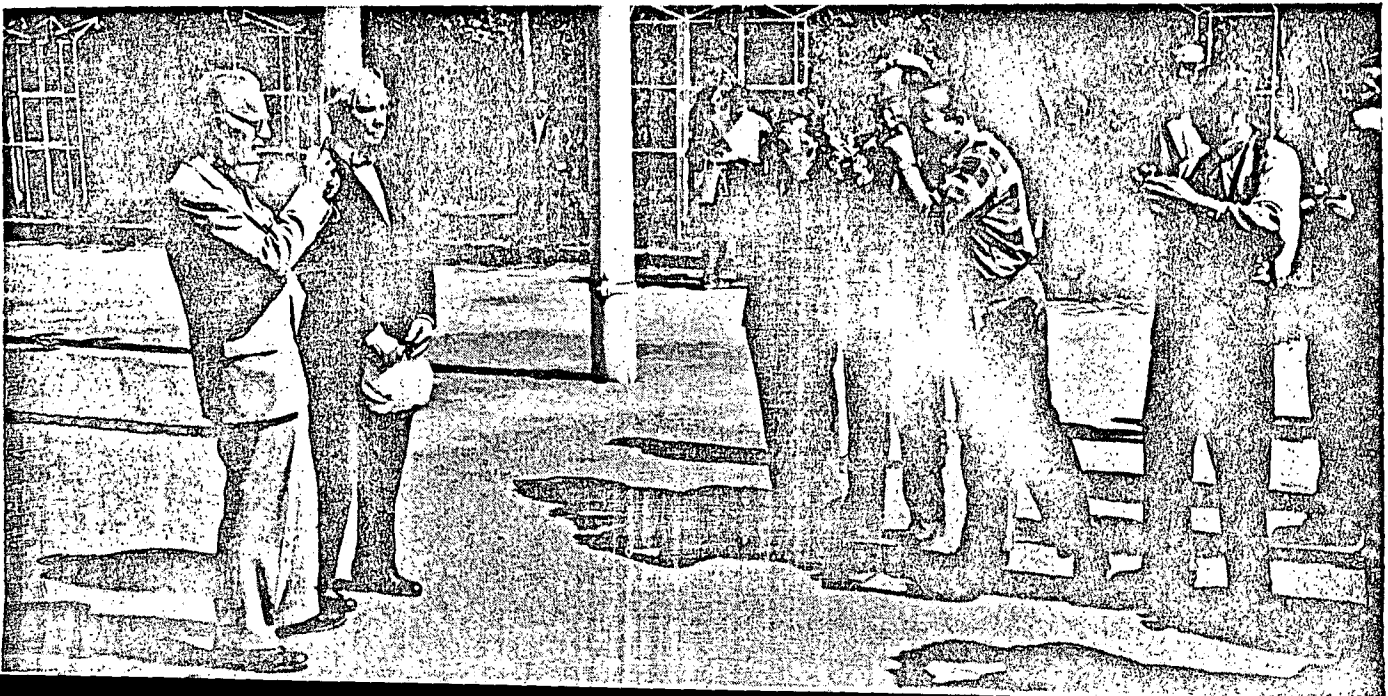
prepared to believe that error of this sort is any more acceptable in the sight of God just because it clothes itself in "anti-communism."

The Marxist-Leninist ideology was based on some serious misconceptions; and the methodology embraced by its adherents, under Lenin and Stalin, was in many respects evil and inexcusable. But no movement of our time, I am sorry to say, has more to show in the way of dedication, hard work, and selflessness, than does the movement that goes by the Leninist-Marxist name. We should not forget this; and when it comes to the American Communist Party, in particular, we should not be too self-righteous in our condemnation of men who have been made what they are by the stamp of circumstances—and circumstances, in many instances, for which every one of us in my generation, at least, bears a share of the blame.

Now there are many people who, when they use the term "anti-communism," have in mind not the little American Communist Party of this day but a whole variety of tendencies and conditions they associate with the word communism: tendencies and conditions supported by far wider circles than just the members of the Communist Party: such things as the increase in the powers of the central government, the high degree of paternalism which seems to them to be reflected in the existing social-security arrangements and other programs of social benefit, an inadequate degree of military aggressiveness in foreign policy, absence of demonstrative patriotic fervor, and so on. And to this I would just like to say that these are of course views you can hold: these tendencies and conditions do exist in our society, for better or for worse, and it is perfectly all right for an American citizen to be against them, if this is the way he sees things. But what all this has to do with communism is not apparent.

Communists, it is true, can be construed as being  
(Continued on page 38)

Soviet-American cultural relations: Edward Steichen and Carl Sandburg visit Moscow during exposition there.





# Operation Crossroads Africa

Since 1958, more than one thousand young people have shared in a unique experiment in understanding

Dr. addresses volunteers during orientation.

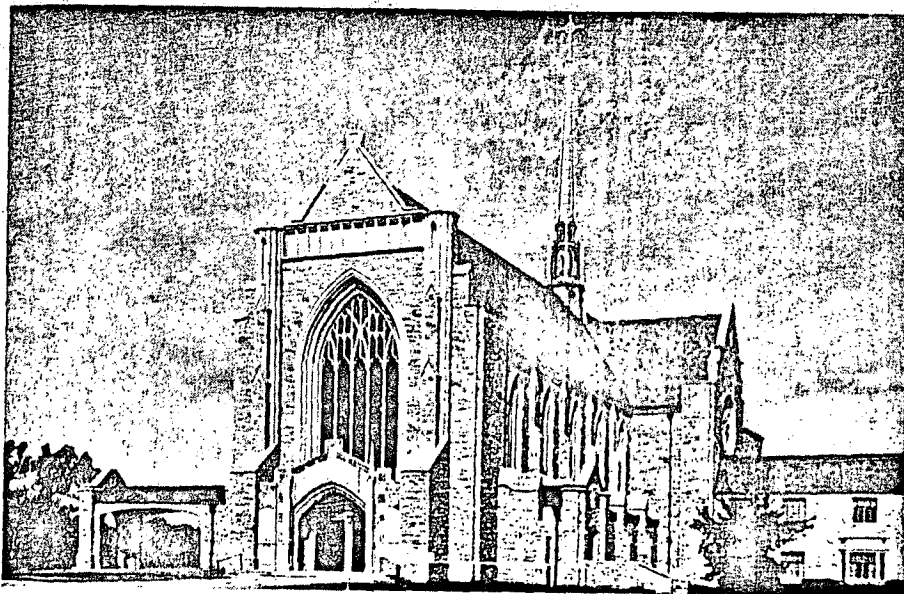


photographs by James A. Foote

The founder of one of this decade's most successful experiments in international understanding sums up his philosophy in this fashion: "When you are under a hundred-pound bag of cement with an African, a lot of barriers break down."

Since 1958, Dr. James H. Robinson, pastor emeritus of the Church of the Master, New York, has translated this statement into a program by which more than one thousand American college students, teachers, and other specialists have gained firsthand insight into Africa's emergent nations. This summer nearly three hundred youthful Americans are being sponsored by "Operation Crossroads Africa" and, for the first time, twenty-six Africans will visit the United States.

"Operation Crossroads Africa" has married Dr. Robinson's interest in the African continent and his talent



**Church links missions to building program.** When First Presbyterian Church of Oklahoma City decided to erect its new \$800,000 sanctuary, they added \$200,000 for aiding the building programs of mission enterprises in the U.S. and overseas. To date, pastor C. Ralston Smith reports the church has expended nearly \$85,000 for the following: \$8,000 for an isolation ward at the hospital in Dembi Dollo, Ethiopia; \$50,000 for building a library chapel at the theological seminary in Seoul, Korea; \$12,500 toward a science-chapel building at Pikeville (Kentucky) College; \$7,000 for an agricultural center at Boggs Academy, Keyville, Georgia; and \$5,200 for physiotherapy and surgical equipment for Presbyterian Hospital, Taegu, Korea. More funds will be expended, says Dr. Smith, as pledges are fulfilled.

## Gifts Make College Possible For Seventy-four Young People

In these pages a year ago there appeared an article, "Churches Asked to Help Send Needy Young Persons to College." Since a number of congregations and even a few individuals—fifty one, actually—responded to the suggestion in that article and a similar one in *Monday Morning*, we think it appropriate to give a report of progress.

The fifty-one churches and other donors contributed a total of \$6,708. These funds were added to the \$10,000 appropriated by the Commission on Religion and Race and the \$20,000 appropriated by the Board of Christian Education from its share of the denomination's General Mission money. The total assisted seventy-three Negroes and one American Indian with grants of \$150 to \$750 (average grant \$496).

None of these young people, with perhaps two exceptions, even dreamed of college as a possibility when they were high-school sophomores. Even if they had, they would have been unable to qualify for college. What turned the trick was attendance at the Summer Study Skills Program of the Board of National Mission's Educational Counseling Service. Through that remarkable tutorial program of six weeks' duration, each had been fired with the possibility of a college education and given the skills and professional guidance to obtain admission to an accredited institution.

Not one had failed or dropped out at the end of the first semester. The

second semester's results are not in at this writing. One or two are on quite shaky ground. Will they make it? We don't know yet. But one statistic gives us confidence. Of the 228 "graduates" of the Summer Study Skills Program who are now in college as freshman, sophomores, juniors, and seniors, only eight have had to drop out. They dropped out for family reasons, entrance into military service, or other reasons beyond their control. None was a dropout for academic reasons.

And what about 1965-66? Again, we have \$30,000—\$15,000 from the Commission on Religion and Race and \$15,000 from the Board of Christian Education. The donor churches and others have promised \$2,380 of the \$34,575 needed to keep last year's students in college this year. We believe the balance needed will yet come in.

But with no new money, no new freshmen can be helped to enter college this fall. They keep applying just the same. At the moment, we have nine applicants whose needs total \$13,827. Aid from the colleges will reduce the need in each case, but not enough to enable the student to enter without a Student Opportunity Scholarship also.

A bonus for those who work with the Opportunity Scholars is the letters of appreciation which are received. One student wrote: "Again I would like to thank you for all you have done for me. I am sure many fellows like myself need only one chance. I have really gained a lot from the experience of being a college student. I hope someday I will be able to do the things for younger boys and girls that you are doing for me."

—WILMINA ROWLAND

Director, Educational Loans and Scholarships  
Board of Christian Education

## Do You Have a Will? Is It Up-to-Date? Does it include the CHURCH?



If you don't have a Will of your own when something happens, the State makes one of sorts for you. And the State rarely sees eye to eye with what you would like.

If you already have made a Will, ask yourself whether it should be brought up-to-date to provide for changes in your family or financial situation and to include the Church. A new informative booklet about Wills is yours free for the asking. Send for it today. Write to: PL192.

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## (Continued from page 7)

In individual psychology the sense of being the innocent victim of unseen conspiratorial forces is often the beginning of, and a symptom of, mental illness. In political life it is the beginning of totalitarianism, which is only a form of mass psychosis: the social equivalent of mental illness. So true is this, and so dangerous are the consequences of yielding to this sort of escapism, that one ought to reject such suggestions even when the available evidence might seem to support them. I cannot warn too strongly those of you who are students against associating yourselves, ever, with the suggestion that your personal troubles or those of the society to which you belong are attributable only to dimly-sensed conspiratorial forces, wholly external to yourselves, beyond your power of comprehension or influence, whose hostility you have done nothing to deserve. To accept such suggestions is a sure path to irrationality, to illusion, and to disaster.

We all have in mind the events that have taken place in Moscow in the re-

Whoever, then, tries to make anti-communism—into a political or ethical philosophy is addressing himself to the past. He is talking about things that were, not things that are. This is, as we all know, an unbelievably endangered world in which we live. The ultimate problems created by nuclear science and by overpopulation—by man's new-found ability to destroy his habitat entirely or to make it intolerable by multiplying himself within it beyond the point of endurance—stare us in the face. To neither of these problems does mere anti-communism even suggest an answer; and the morbid pre-occupation with this term can scarcely be explained otherwise than as the reflection either of an inability to free one's self from the anxieties, the seizures, or the nightmares of the past, or a lack of the requisite manliness to face the reality of the present. I think it is high time that we, all of us, threw off these shackles, emancipated ourselves from the power of vague semantic symbols, and turned our faces resolutely, with all the realism and the honesty we can muster, to the problems of the present and the future.

## PRESBYTERIAN LIFE

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(OO: WFO)

~~JS~~ *George F. Remick*

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies and for Newark one copy of a LHM dated and captioned as above.

The confidential source referred to in the LHM is

~~JS~~

The LHM has been classified "Confidential" inasmuch as it reveals the FBI's investigative interest in a foreign diplomatic establishment. ~~JS~~

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

(April 7, 1965)

INTERNAL SECURITY - YUGOSLAVIA

On April 5, 1965, a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, learned that Veljko Micunovic, Yugoslav Ambassador, Washington, D.C., will make a speech on the evening of April 7, 1965, at Woodrow Wilson High School, Princeton, New Jersey. The source further learned that the subject matter of this speech will deal with Yugoslav policies.

According to the source, on April 8, 1965, Micunovic will have lunch with former United States Ambassador to Yugoslavia George F. Kennan.

The source further learned that Micunovic is expected to return to Washington, D.C., on April 9, 1965.

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OTHERWISE~~

~~7-16-99~~  
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DECLASSIFY ON: 25X  
II 440933

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downgrading and  
declassification

~~SECRET~~

62-81548  
ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

~~SECRET~~

DATE: 7/15/65

FROM : R. W. Smith

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

SUBJECT: YUGOSLAV INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES  
IN THE UNITED STATES  
INTERNAL SECURITY - YUGOSLAVIA

1-Mr. Belmont

1-Mr. DeLoach

1-Mr. Sullivan

1-Liaison

1-Mr. Cotter

1-Mr. R. W. Smith

1-Mr. D. T. Sullivan

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

our highly sensitive source

Mr. Kennan was a career Foreign Service officer who was United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1952 and United States Ambassador to Yugoslavia from 1961 to 1963. He is currently located at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey.

## ACTION:

With your approval, the attached letter and letterhead memorandum will be furnished to the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President. Only the White House will be told of Mr. Kennan's personal criticism of the President. The letterhead memorandum is also being furnished to the Attorney General, his Deputy, the Secretary of State, and the [redacted] Referral/Consult

Enclosures sent 7-16-66

100-346268

DTS:ssh  
(8)

CLASSIFIED BY SP4BJR/DW  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X  
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JUL 20 1965

~~SECRET~~

August 6, 1965

REC 45

62-81548-33

EX-101

Brookside, New Jersey 07926

Dear [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-16-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
# 410933

b6  
b7c

Your letter of August 2nd, with enclosure, has been received, and the thought which prompted you to write is appreciated.

While I would like to be of service, it has been my long-standing policy not to comment on material that is not prepared by personnel of this Bureau. I regret that I am unable to be of help in this instance but trust you will understand the reason.

I was glad to learn of your interest in my book, "Masters of Deceit," and perhaps you may wish to refer to my latest book, "A Study of Communism," which contains an analysis of international communist practices and contrasts totalitarian methods with life in a free country. A copy may be available at your local library.

I am returning the article with some material, which contains suggestions all of us can use in combating the evil menace of communism.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (3)

1 - Newark - Enclosures (2)

1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enclosures (2)  
"Our Heritage of Greatness"

Let's fight communism sanely!

LS:cs (5)

(See note next page.)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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[REDACTED]

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b7C

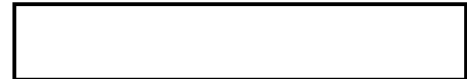
NOTE: [REDACTED] cannot be identified in Bufiles. Mr. George F. Kennan is the former U. S. Ambassador to Russian and Yugoslavia. He is now with the Institute for Advance Study. When the Bureau investigated him for his position as Ambassador to Russia, some of the individuals felt that his policy toward Russia was too soft. Kennan has felt that we should not try to hinder Red China's admission to the U. N. The Director expressed amazement that Kennan had apparently fallen for the Soviet line. In 1963 he was critical of the Bureau & INS on their attitude of issuing passports, visas and re-entry permits for people from Yugoslavia. He felt that Yugoslavia was being considered as a member of the Soviet-Bloc. He was contacted by Assistant Director Sullivan regarding our position. While he was at the State Department, we had cordial relations with him.

**PRESBYTERIAN LIFE:**

We have had limited cordial correspondence with this publication. The last outgoing was in 1958. We have had several inquiries concerning it from individuals who felt it leaned toward the left.

The article captioned "The Right Way to Counter Communism" by George F. Kennan is a treatise on the subject of "anti-communism" pointing out that it is a fallacy in current times to label every form of government that is opposed to our form of government as communist, and that we should broaden our vision and label these other ideologies in their true sense, and points out that whoever "tries to make anti-communism into a political or ethical philosophy is addressing himself to the past, and points out that other problems of the world such as nuclear science, overpopulation, etc., are problems to be considered and cannot be answered by "anti-communism."

TRUE COPY



b6  
b7C

Brookside, N. J. 07926

August 2, nd 1965

J. Edgar Hoover  
Director, Federal Bureau of  
Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-16-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
6470933

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Enclosed please find an article from the July 15th 1965  
Presbyterian Life. " To me this is Master's of Deceit " at work.

I am an Elder in the First Presbyterian Church of  
[redacted] New Jersey. I intend to bring this article to the attention  
of the rest of the Elders at the next meeting which is first week in Sept.

I would love to have a break down of the enclosed article from  
you. I know you are a busy person, but I'm planning to buy and take with me  
a copy of your book, "Master's of Deceit." One for each member - I feel  
if I could read a letter from you to me, that I could arouse interest enough  
that each would read the book. Then we would be on our way to activity.  
Heres hoping

If you do find time to reply to this request may I have  
permission to run off a copy to send to each 169) Minister in this  
Presbytery?

It's my prayerful hope that I can awaken enough Ministers  
to the read danger, that this article is doing, so that the Newton  
Presbytery will bring up the matter at the Synod Meeting in the fall -

It might interest you to know it was by seeing the last  
twenty minutes of David Suskind T. V. Show in which he had Members  
of the John Birch Society that I began reading and learning. I have not  
joined the Society for a number of reasons, so far. I am writing to  
Newspapers, to Washington & Trenton. I am talking with friends &  
handing out books as much as I can.

There is an old saying "He who is wrapped up in self makes  
very small package." I have learned this about myself since my readings  
have shown how blessedly ignorant I was, & I've just begun to learn.

Sincerely & God bless you.



CORRESPONDENCE

ACK 8/6/65 K/S/8

Xmas(2)

17C 8/5/65

Brookside, New Jersey

Brookside, N. J.

August 2

Mr. Tolson	b6
Mr. Belmont	b7C
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

J. Edgar Hoover  
Director, Federal Bureau of  
Investigation  
Washington D.C.  
Dear Mr. Hoover,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-16-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
# 410933

Enclosed please find an article  
from the July 15<sup>th</sup> 1965 "Presbyterian Life". To  
me this is "Masters of Deceit" at work.

I am an Elder in the First Presbyterian  
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if I could read a letter from you to me  
that I could arouse interest enough that  
each would read the book. Then we  
would be on our way to activity. Heres hoping  
ITC 18185 H-12 8/6/65 R/S/2

ENCLOSURE

EXP. PROC.  
AUG 4 1965  
CORRESPONDENCE

If you do find time to reply to this request may I have permission to run off a copy to send to each (69) Minister in the Presbytery?

It is my prayerful hope that I can awaken enough Ministers to the real danger, that this article is doing, so that the Newton Presbytery will bring up the matter at the Synod Meeting in the fall -

It might interest you to know it was by seeing the last twenty minutes of David Suskind T.V. show in which he had members of the John Birch Society that I began reading and learning. I have not joined the Society for a number of reasons, so far. I am writing to newspapers, to Washington & Fresno. I am talking with friends & handing out books as much as I can.

There is an old saying "He who is wrapped up in self, makes very small package." I have learned this about my self since my reading have shown how helpfully ignorant I was. & I've just begun to learn.

Sincerely, God bless you.

2 DIRECTOR  
AUG 4 1965

b6  
b7c



CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA 52401

September 30, 1965

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-16-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
# 410933

DIAL 363-3573

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. Belmont ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. DeLoach ✓  
Mr. Casper ✓  
Mr. Callahan ✓  
Mr. Conrad ✓  
Mr. Felt ✓  
Mr. Gale ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Sullivan ✓  
Mr. Tavel ✓  
Mr. Trotter ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Miss Holmes ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
U.S. Department of Justice  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Enclosed is an article entitled "The Right Way to Counter Communism" by George F. Kennan, former American ambassador to Russia. This article appeared in the July 15, 1965, issue of Presbyterian Life, and is apparently a reprint from University A Princeton Quarterly, Spring, 1965.

Both [ ] and myself feel that this article, and even the title, is quite misleading to those who read it. We feel that this should come to your attention, if not previously done so.

Feeling that you would not agree with the content or the manner in which this was handled, perhaps some attempt should be made to counteract the impression that this article may well give.

As a former Special Agent of the FBI, and presently as an elder of the Presbyterian Church and a recent commissioner to our General Assembly in [ ], in May of this year, I find myself alarmed by the naivete (to put it kindly) of some of the leaders and members of our denomination.

With best personal regards.

Very truly yours,

ENCLOSURE

Enclosure

REC-64

62-81548-34

15 OCT 19 1965

CORRESPONDENCE  
PERS. REC. UNIT

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Lake Charles, La.  
January 28, 1966

Editor  
Presbyterian Survey  
341 Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.  
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Dear Sir:

Mr. George F. Kennan's recommendation on "How to Counter Communism" would seem to be not <sup>to</sup> counter it at all, but to forget about it (as we <sup>were</sup> are told to forget the "agrarian reformers" in China). Ignoring the perfidy and ruthlessness with which the Communists, since World War II, have extended their control over many people, Mr. Kennan concentrates on the differences among Communists and asks us not to oppose the Godless evil which all Communists seek to promote. The mere fact that there are wide differences among poisonous snakes makes them no less deadly.

Mr. Kennan speaks of the American Communist Party as "a tiny and pathetic little band of people," ignoring the help that they and the non-card-carrying Communist give to the spies sent into this country through diplomatic channels. If Mr. Kennan is "an authority on the communist world," Mr. J. Edgar Hoover is no less an authority on the menace of Communism in this country and I am certain that Mr. Hoover would be happy to write for you on this subject.

Sincerely yours,

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#410933

JWS:mhs

bc: Mr. J. Edgar Hoover

EXP. PROC.  
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62-81548 35

3 FEB 1 1966

57 FEB 9 1966

CORRESPONDENCE

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DATE 2-16-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
#410933

October 7, 1965

62-81548-34

Cedar Rapids, Iowa 52401

Dear [redacted]:

Your letter of September 30th enclosing  
the article on communism has been received. Thank you  
for bringing this item to my attention, and I do appreciate  
your thoughtfulness.

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: [redacted], former SA, [redacted] His  
services were satisfactory; we have had no correspondence with him since  
then.

Kennan's article has previously been brought to our  
attention and we have made no comment. Kennan believes that "anticommunism"  
is too negative an attitude since there are various aspects of communism  
with which we must deal. For example, while we may not agree with the  
Soviet system internally, we have no business protesting its internal  
practices; our concern is with its international policy. He feels that  
anticommunism in relation to the Communist Party, USA often tends to  
exaggerate the influence of this group, which he feels is negligible. Some  
people, he states, blame too many problems on communism, and should  
instead seek to solve the problems created by nuclear weapons and  
overpopulation. Kennan, former Ambassador to Russia and Yugoslavia, has  
had a controversial career. He has maintained friendly relations with the  
Bureau in the past; however, in 1963 he singled us out for criticism in the  
matter of passports, etc.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

57 OCT 28 1965

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

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FBI  
READING ROOM

b6  
b7C

1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Rosen

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

2/17/67

R. W. Smith

1 - Mr. C. F. Downing  
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith  
1 - Mr. Thomas

DIPBOM

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DATE 2-16-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
#410933

George F. Kennan, former U. S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia, furnished to Mr. W. C. Sullivan by letter dated 2/6/67 copies of articles from a Yugoslav immigrant newspaper in Chicago, "Sloboda." Mr. Kennan indicated in his letter that he had received the copies of the articles anonymously by mail on 2/3/67.

Mr. Kennan said the articles indicated to him that the 1/29/67 bombings of Yugoslav diplomatic establishments in North America could have been carried out by Serbs. Mr. Kennan's letter has been acknowledged separately.

The material furnished by Mr. Kennan was reviewed by Bureau translator [redacted] who described "Sloboda" as an anticommunist newspaper. The articles relate in no way to the 1/29/67 bombings but discuss prior demonstrations against Yugoslav establishments in Chicago, New York and Toronto. The only person mentioned of possible interest is [redacted] who has a Serbian Radio Hour in Chicago. According to the articles, the Chicago Yugoslav Consulate indicated possible complicity of [redacted] in the 12/21/66 stoning of the Chicago Consulate because on his program, [redacted] discussed the stoning of the U. S. Consulate in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, which occurred earlier on 12/21/66.

Another article concerned the 11/26-27/66 bombing of the Yugoslav Embassy in Paris in which two Yugoslav technical experts were slightly injured.

The incidents and substance of the information in the articles furnished by Kennan had previously been developed in the DIPBOM investigation and available data on [redacted] had previously been compiled and furnished to General Investigative Division which had also previously initiated inquiries concerning any link between the Paris bombing and the 1/29/67 bombing.

ACTION:

None. For information.

174-477

1 - 62-81548 (Kennan)

JPT:ebp (7)

62-81548  
FEB 23 1967

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 2-16-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
# 410933

6 February 1967

*George Kennan*

Dear Mr. Sullivan:

It is my impression, from what has appeared in the press, that the Bureau is participating in the investigation of the recent bombing outrages against official Yugoslav premises in this country and in Canada. That is my reason for addressing this letter to you.

I received on February 3, without any indication of the identity of the sender, the enclosed sheets which appear to be pages from the Yugoslav émigré newspaper in Chicago, issue of December 10, 1966. I assume that they were sent to me in view of my recent service as U. S. Ambassador in Belgrade. They offer no legal proof, of course, of the complicity of these Serbs in the bombing attempts, but they certainly demonstrate that these people were by no means above such abuse of the hospitality of this country. Their espousal of the public promises of like-minded Serbs in Canada to assassinate President Tito, if and when he attends the Montreal exposition, give further strength to the evidence suggesting that they were not unconnected with the recent bombings which, as you know, occurred in Canada as well as in this country. To me the circumstantial evidence of their complicity is very powerful, and the unabashed demand for lawless violence with which these articles are replete only strengthens this hypothesis.

I pass this on to you for whatever usefulness it may have to the Bureau in its investigative work.

With warm regards,

~~ENCLOSURE~~

Enclosure

12 MAR 1967  
W. C. Sullivan  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

141 FEB 23 1967

15 FEB 21 1967  
Very sincerely,

*George Kennan*  
George Kennan

File copy  
62-81548 (Kennan)

6-2-67  
174-477

ORIGINAL FILED IN 174-477-939

memo, Sullivan to  
Sullivan 2/17/67  
JP:KLP  
174-477-1740  
(3 copies)

DIRECTOR, FBI (62-46855)

10/10/68

ATT: RESEARCH-SATELLITE SECTION  
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

SAC, BOSTON (62-153) (RUC)

PURCHASE OF BOOK  
BOOK REVIEWS

Reference: Bureau letter to Boston, dated 10/3/68.

Enclosed herewith, as requested in referenced letter, is the  
book entitled: "Democracy and the Student Left" by GEORGE C. KENNAN.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-16-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

# 410933

(2 - Bureau (Encl. 1)

1 - Boston

FDC/

(3)

62-81548-

NOT RECORDED

152 OCT 21 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

1 - Mr. T. W. Leavitt  
1 - Mr. E. C. Peterson

DATE: 10/19/76

1 - Mr. L. McWilliams  
(Attn: J. W. McCaffrey)  
1 - Mr. R. P. Finzel  
1 - Mr. S. R. Stroup

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.:  
Adm. Serv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Fin. & Pers. \_\_\_\_\_  
Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Inspection \_\_\_\_\_  
Intell. \_\_\_\_\_  
Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_  
Rec. Mgnt. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. T. W. Leavitt *RLP*

FROM : A. B. Fulton *A*

SUBJECT: ~~UNITED STATES - SOVIET UNION~~

1917 - 1976;

REVIEW OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ARTICLE  
ON U.S. - USSR RELATIONS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-16-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
410933

## PURPOSE:

To summarize and review a recent article by George F. Kennan on Soviet-American relations published in the July, 1976, issue of Foreign Affairs Magazine. "*noted*"

## SYNOPSIS:

With the growing threat of nuclear war, the continued ideological conflict, and the massive export of arms by major industrial countries, an urgency is attached to improve Soviet-American relations. George F. Kennan prescribes more concern for and study of Soviet intentions and greater consistency in U. S. diplomatic approaches toward the USSR. *on*

## RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information only.

62-46855 *RLP*

SRS:dedded  
(6)

CONTINUED - OVER

## APPROVED:

Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Asst. Dir.:  
Adm. Serv. \_\_\_\_\_

Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_  
Fin. & Pers. \_\_\_\_\_  
Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Ident. \_\_\_\_\_  
Intell. \_\_\_\_\_

Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_  
Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_  
Plan. & Insp. \_\_\_\_\_  
Rec. Mgnt. \_\_\_\_\_  
Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_  
Training \_\_\_\_\_

OCT 29 1976



54 NOV 10 1976

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FBI/

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-81548

Memorandum to Mr. T. W. Leavitt  
Re: United States - Soviet Union  
1917 - 1976;  
Review of Foreign Affairs Article  
on U. S. - USSR Relations  
62-46855

DETAILS:

George F. Kennan is Professor Emeritus at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, University. He was U. S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1952, and to Yugoslavia, 1961 - 63. He is an author and scholar, who has written extensively about Soviet affairs.

"Foreign Affairs" is a quarterly review published by the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, New York.

The evolution of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, from the inception of Bolshevik rule in 1917 to the present, forms the backdrop for George F. Kennan's article "The United States and the Soviet Union, 1917 - 1976." From this perspective Kennan focuses on the myriad of circumstances and decisions which have resulted in the irony of two ideological antagonists finding comfort in alliance during two major global conflicts while remaining constant and, at times, bitter enemies.

Kennan traces many of the problems of Soviet-American relations to the very earliest days following the two Russian revolutions, of 1917 - the fall of Tsardom to a democratic regime and the subsequent November takeover of the Bolsheviks. There existed little understanding in the United States of the nature of the political conflict within Russia during this volatile period. The initial widespread belief in the United States that the Bolsheviks were German agents, not to be taken seriously outside the context of European power politics, was the first of many miscalculations which led to the potentially ominous atmosphere of today. Even if this and subsequent miscalculations can be written off as by-products of wartime confusion and overreactions to inflated rhetoric, Kennan firmly believes that certain basic fundamental elements of the Soviet-American relationship were in the past and, at times, continue to be ignored, if understood at all. These elements include:



Memorandum to Mr. T. W. Leavitt  
Re: United States - Soviet Union  
1917 - 1976;  
Review of Foreign Affairs Article  
on U. S. - USSR Relations  
62-46855

- 1) the ideological commitment of the Bolshevik - communist leadership;
- 2) the fact that the United States and USSR must live with each other since neither side would ever be in a position to achieve total destruction of the other;
- 3) neither total antagonism nor total identity of interests is possible in any international relationship.

The failure to recognize these basics has led the United States to a dangerously inconsistent pattern of optimism, disillusionment, anger, and overreaction. This cycle is only magnified when the American people are misled for short-term interests, such as occurred during World War II, when hopes of postwar collaborations with the Soviets were encouraged to justify their inclusion in the Alliance. As events unfolded in the postwar period, it became abundantly clear that Soviet intentions were anything but honorable. The American public's reaction to this set of events contributed to a great extent to the chapter of history known as the "McCarthy Era."

After citing numerous other examples of patch-work inconsistency in our relationship with the Soviet Union, Kennan discusses the outlook for the future. As the author states, "It would be idle to pretend . . . that the prospects for the future of Soviet-American relations are anything less than problematical. Formidable impediments continue to lie across the path of any efforts at improvement." These include: repressive USSR internal policies; continued Soviet rhetorical denunciations of the United States and western society; continued maintenance of large, threatening military forces; and a cloak of secrecy which builds fear and thus overreaction from the West.

Memorandum to Mr. T. W. Leavitt  
Re: United States - Soviet Union  
1917 - 1976;  
Review of Foreign Affairs Article  
on U. S. - USSR Relations  
62-46855

There are, however, counterbalancing bright spots to watch for, such as the continued awareness of dangers of nuclear competition and proliferations and impending change in Soviet leadership with probability of more a pragmatic, less ideological, stance.

In Kennan's estimation good relations are possible if the following guidelines are adhered to:

- 1) greater steadiness and realism in the perception of our relationship;
- 2) control of U. S. military-industrial complex and concomitant mutual effort in the reduction of arms;
- 3) forego internal U. S. political rhetoric designed to provide United States with external rival;
- 4) long-term U. S. diplomatic consistency;
- 5) less dramatization of foreign policy by media;
- 6) more concern and study of intentions rather than reaction to perceived capabilities.

As summation, Kennan states that time is of the essence in our relationship with the Soviet Union. With the growing threat of nuclear war and the continued massive export of arms from major industrial countries, the stability of an already precariously balanced world is seriously threatened.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1255592-0

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X For this Page X  
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (File ) DATE: 2/7/61

FROM : SAC, Milwaukee (File 161-25 )

SUBJECT: GEORGE FROST KENNAN  
SPI

Re: St. Louis teletype 2/6/61.  
Newark teletype 2/7/61.

This case will be delinquent.

Date of Bureau deadline: 2/7/61

Reason for the delinquency: Investigation begun Milwaukee on 2/7/61. Additional investigation remains.

Date the report or necessary communication will reach the Bureau: 2/10/61

AEC zone designation; e.g., OR, CH, etc.:  
(This applies only to 116 cases.)

NO ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION RECOMMENDED.

DDD: dml  
(2)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

410933

*3 Ind*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI

(File

) DATE:

2/7/60

FROM :

SAC, WFO

(File

161-153)

SUBJECT:

Geo. Frost Kenner SPI

Re Burz teletype 2/1/61

This case will be delinquent.

Date of Bureau deadline:

2/7/61

Reason for the delinquency:

all of appointed <sup>former</sup> associates of State are not available for interview due to high level conferences. Allain

Date the report or necessary communication will reach the Bureau:

2/14/61

AEC zone designation; e.g., OR, CH, etc.:

(This applies only to 116 cases.)

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DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

44 410933

Allain, former Sigs. not presently available.  
No other action recommended

Haw:

6. J. J. S.

*Office Memorandum* • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (File ) DATE: 2/6/61

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (File 161-49 )

SUBJECT: GEORGE FROST KENNAN  
SPI

Re WFO Teletype to Director dated 2/3/61.

This case will be delinquent.

Date of Bureau deadline: 2/7/61

Reason for the delinquency: Extensive investigation required. Five agents assigned; records and personnel at Institute for Advanced Study not available until 2/6/61.

Date the report or necessary communication will reach the Bureau: 2/8/61

AEC zone designation, e.g., OR, CH, etc.:  
(This applies only to 116 cases.)

WTH:PMS

(1)

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79 sent  
2/1/61

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TO SAC, WFO (BY SPECIAL MESSENGER) (Enclosures 2)

FROM DIRECTOR, FBI

REC-95

161-281-

GEORGE FROST KENNAN, SPI. STATE DEPARTMENT HAS REQUESTED

INVESTIGATION OF KENNAN, WHO IS BEING CONSIDERED FOR

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT IN THAT DEPARTMENT. BORN FEBRUARY

ONE SIX, ONE NINE ZERO FOUR, MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, AND

PRESENTLY RESIDES PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY, WHERE IS PROFESSOR,

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY. SEE

QUOTE WHO WHO'S UNQUOTE FOR FURTHER BACKGROUND DATA. STATE

DEPARTMENT ADVISES KENNAN INVESTIGATED BY OFFICE OF SECURITY

IN ONE NINE FIVE THREE UNDER PROVISIONS OF EO ONE ZERO FOUR FIVE

ZERO. WFO CHECK SECURITY FILE AND SET ALL LEADS BY TELETYPE.

CONDUCT THOROUGH INVESTIGATION COVERING ENTIRE ADULT LIFE

INCLUDING PERIODS OF UNEMPLOYMENT. COMPLETE NAMES AND

CURRENT ADDRESSES OF ALL IMMEDIATE RELATIVES MUST BE ASCERTAINED

BY ACTIVE INVESTIGATION AND APPROPRIATE CHECKS MADE CONCERNING

EACH. IF PARENTS ARE DECEASED, SAME SHOULD BE REPORTED INCLUDING

COMPLETE NAMES. ASSIGN IMMEDIATELY, AFFORD CONTINUOUS ATTENTION,

SET OUT ALL LEADS BY TELETYPE. ASSIGN TO SUFFICIENT PERSONNEL TO

INSURE THAT BUDED OF FEBRUARY SEVEN, NEXT, IS MET WITHOUT FAIL.

MAILED 2  
FEB 1 1961  
COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

DHY:ejf

(4)

58 MAY 29 1961

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

2-18-61

PLAIN TEXT

TELETYPE

URGENT

✓ TO SAC NEW YORK  
FROM DIRECTOR, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4 BJA/DFW

GEORGE FROST KENNAN, SPI. RE NEW YORK FILE ONE SIX ONE DASH ONE  
SIX TWO. NEW YORK SEE URFILE SIX TWO DASH ONE ONE TWO FOUR  
THREE RE [REDACTED] CONTAINING NEW YORK LETTER  
JANUARY FOUR ONE NINE FIVE FIVE, WHEREIN SHE INDICATED KENNAN IS  
QUOTE A MARXIST IN ESSENCE UNQUOTE. INTERVIEW [REDACTED] AND  
SECURE COMMENTS AND PERTINENT INFORMATION SHE MAY POSSESS RE  
KENNAN. SUTEL RESULTS IN LANGUAGE SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION TO  
REACH BUREAU BY FEBRUARY TWO ZERO NEXT. FOLLOW BY REPORT.

JMD:DJJ

-3-

161-281-2  
NOT RECORDED

19 FEB 20 1961

NOTE: Kennan has been appointed U. S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] In 1954 she advised New York Office  
Kennan's writings indicated he was a Marxist in essence. We have maintained  
cordial relations with [REDACTED] and she is on the Special Correspondents List

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

57 FEB 23 1961

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 18 1961

TELETYPE



## Central Research Section

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Committee Approves Kennan

Associated Press Reporter

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday approved unanimously the nomination of George F. Kennan as Ambassador to Yugoslavia after hearing him say he is confident Marshal Tito will remain independent of Russia and Red China.

Kennan, a veteran career diplomat and one-time Ambassador to the Soviet Union, cautioned that while there are undoubted differences between Russia and Red China they do not offer anything "for us to crow over or get excited about."

"I don't look for any early dramatic or complete break."

But he said the Red Chinese have attacked Yugoslavia rather savagely and he is confident Yugoslavia will find it to her interest to remain independent.

Kennan said Yugoslavia has achieved an independence of Moscow far greater than any country in the Red bloc "and I think we should be happy to see that country maintain maximum independence."

Kennan said he is "not one bit optimistic" over the chances for a drastic improvement in relations with Soviet Russia.

"We've got to make progress in the field of disarmament before tensions loosen up," he added.

As for Yugoslavia, Kennan said the United States should continue to help in the development of that country to encourage Tito to maintain his independence of Moscow.

[Kennan also said that he does not now consider "as relevant" his views in late 1957 when he created an international sensation by advocating disengagement in Europe. He said that there had been "very important military developments" since the time he suggested that forces of the East and West each be pulled back from the line which now divides Europe.]

[The ambassador-designate said he had been "instructed by my critics" and that he was "very happy at this time to merge my views" with those of the Kennedy Administration. Kennan did not say so but he is known to be highly enthusiastic about the new Administration. He said he hoped Secretary of State Dean Rusk would reinstate him as a career foreign service officer. He had served over 26 years as such before he was let go by the late Secretary John Foster Dulles.]

The Senate Committee, after hearing their testimony, also approved unanimously the nominations of:

Philip M. Coombs of Connecticut, nominee for the new post of Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs.

Francis T. P. Plimpton, New York lawyer, to be deputy representative to the United Nations, deputy representative on the Security Council and a member of the U. N. delegation.

Jonathan B. Bingham, New York lawyer, to be U. S. representative on the U. N. Trusteeship Council and an alternate delegate.

John Howard Morrow of North Carolina, retiring Ambassador to Guinea, to be an alternate delegate to the U. N.

Charles P. Noyes of New York to be an alternate delegate.

*obj*  
*Nat. Intelligence*  
*Edward*  
*FILE #61*  
*in main file of Kennan*

The Washington Post and Times Herald A5  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 Date 3-7-61

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MAR 14 1961

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17 MAR 8 1961

*Copy to [unclear]*  
*[unclear]*

FBI

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Date: 2/3/61

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(Type in plain text or code)

Via TELETYPE

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(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, AND SACS, NEWARK AND ST. LOUIS

FROM: SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD (161-153)

GEORGE FROST KENNAN, SPI. RE BUREAU TELETYPE FEBRUARY ONE SIXTYONE, NO ~~COPIES~~ COPIES NEWARK OR ST. LOUIS. STATE DEPARTMENT HAS REQUESTED INVESTIGATION OF KENNAN WHO IS BEING CONSIDERED FOR PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT IN THAT DEPARTMENT. BORN FEBRUARY SIXTEEN NINETEEN FOUR, MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, AND PRESENTLY RESIDES PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY, WHERE HE IS A PROFESSOR AT THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY. SEE QUOTES WHO APOSTROPHE S WHO QUOTES FOR FURTHER BACKGROUND DATA. CONDUCT THOROUGH INVESTIGATION COVERING ENTIRE ADULT LIFE INCLUDING PERIODS OF UNEMPLOYMENT. COMPLETE NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF ALL IMMEDIATE RELATIVES BY ACTIVE INVESTIGATION AND APPROPRIATE CHECKS MADE CONCERNING EACH. IF PARENTS ARE DECEASED SAME SHOULD BE REPORTED INCLUDING COMPLETE NAMES. ASSIGN IMMEDIATELY, AFFORD CONTINUOUS ATTENTION, SET OUT ALL LEADS BY TELETYPE. ASSIGN TO SUFFICIENT PERSONNEL TO ASSURE

3-Bureau  
1-Teletype Unit  
1-WFO  
HEW:glt  
(5)

1cc destroyed  
Indeb/epd 5/1/61

161-281-3

RECORDED  
11 MAY 23 1961

Approved: MAWJS  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)WFO 161-153  
PAGE TWO

THAT BUREAU DEADLINE OF FEBRUARY SEVEN SIXTYONE IS MET  
WITHOUT FAIL. NEWARK DETERMINE APPOINTEE APOSTROPHE S  
RELATIVES AND SET OUT APPROPRIATE LEADS. ALSO CONDUCT  
NEIGHBORHOOD INVESTIGATION AND OTHER APPROPRIATE INVESTIGATION.  
ST. LOUIS CHECK AT FRC FOR APPOINTEE APOSTROPHE S OPF  
COVERING EMPLOYMENT DEPARTMENT OF STATE FROM TWENTYSIX TO  
FIFTYTHREE WHEN HE RETIRED FROM STATE DEPARTMENT.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 6 1961

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# 410933

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

URGENT 2-6-61 53 XXX5-36 PM GH

TO DIRECTOR, FBI AND SACS MILWAUKEE AND NEWARK  
FROM SAC, ST. LOUIS -161-171-

GEORGE FROST KENNAN, SPI . RE WASHINGTON FIELD TEL, FEB.  
THREE, LAST, NO COPY MILWAUKEE. BUDED FEB. SEVEN, NEXT  
KENNAN CONSIDERED FOR PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT IN STATE DEPARTMENT.  
BORN FEB. SIXTEEN, NINETEEN HUNDRED FOUR, MILWAUKEE, WIS.  
SEE QUOTE WHOS WHO UNQUOTE FOR BACKGROUND. CONDUCT FULL INVEST-  
IGATION COVERING ENTIRE ADULT LIFE INCLUDING PERIODS OF UNEMPLOY-  
MENT. COMPLETE NAMES AND ADDRESSES ALL IMMEDIATE RELATIVES BY ACTIVE  
INVESTIGATION AND APPROPRIATE CHECKS MADE CONCERNING EACH. IF PARENTS  
ARE DECEASED, SAME SHOULD BE REPORTED INCLUDING COMPLETE NAMES. ST. LOUIS  
VERIFYING EMPLOYMENT DEPT. OF STATE SEPT. ONE, TWENTYSIX TO JULY  
TWENTYNINE, FIFTYTHREE AND MARCH ONE. FIFTYFOUR TO MARCH SIXTEEN,  
FIFTYFOUR, CONSULTANT, POST OFFICE, TRENTON, NEW JERSEY, CHRISTMAS,  
NINETEEN TWENTYTWO, UNLOCATED. RECORDS REFLECTED PARENTS KOSSUTH KENT  
KENNAN, THREE ZERO NINE CAMBRIDGE AVE., MILWAUKEE, WIS. IN NINETEEN  
END PAGE ONE

161-281-4  
NOT RECORDED

11 MAY 23 1961

1 cc destroyed  
Jmcl/epd 5/19/61

Mr. Young  
4742

6-1-1961

PAGE TWO

TWENTYFIVE, AND FLORENCE JAMES KENNAN, DECEASED. WIFE LISTED AS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], BORN IN NORWAY, MARRIED SEPT. ELEVEN, THIRTYONE.

b6  
b7C

NO LOCAL ADDRESS SHOWN. MILWAUKEE AND NEWARK CONDUCT INVESTIGATIONNN  
RE RELATIVES..

END AND ACK PLS

WA 6-41 PM OK FBI WA JDS

MI OK FBI MI WDB

NKB OK FBI NK JFH

T DISC PV

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

## SEARCH SLIP

Subj: George Frost KennanSupervisor Mr. Bettencourt Room 4742R# 24 Date 2/1 Searcher Initial JSFILE NUMBER <sup>2-16-04</sup> Wisc.

SERIAL

var C. L.

NI 100-131697-1

Frost

nr

one

approx 50 not listed,

done I

var [redacted]

NI 100-360059-25

var [redacted]

NI 61-10292-467

var [redacted]

NI 100-13706-10

num other possible vars

of surname not

taken or searched.

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## SEARCH SLIP

Subj:

George Frost Kennan

Supervisor

de Bettencourt Room 4742

R#

2439

Date

2-1

Searcher

Initial

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FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

George

NDL 100-275683-355

NDL 100-299061-164

NDL 100-333625-82

NDL 100-341171-14 Mrs. Widdowes

NDL 100-345582-6 ✓

NDL 100-347256-1.3

NDL 100-348137-23 pg 172

NDL 100-359325-19 ✓

NDL 100-360333-9.20

NDL 100-361021-3

NDL 100-363697-4

NDL 100-365088-1286

NDL 102-1-32-126

NDL 105-10830-62 pg 37

NDL 105-11887-11 pg 139

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NDL 105-15519-3 pg 1 K24

NDL 105-26316-18 K24

NDL 105-31418-16 pg 43

NDL 105-43723-106 Lt. Canto 2784

NDL 105-52368-19 K24

NDL 105-92156-A-6 pg 11/27/60

NDL 109-12-232-690 K24

NDL 109-12-240-A-10 pg 11/1/47

NDL 110-6-234-258 K24

NDL 121-18528-242 K24

NDL 121-23552-31 pg 28 K24

NDL 140-0-697 K24

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## SEARCH SLIP

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George Frost Kennan

Supervisor

de Bittencourt

Room

4742

R#

24

Date

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Searcher

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FILE NUMBER

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George

NDI 65-02388-4

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STI 77-56416-116 pg 4, 128,

NDL 94-1-5449-6

NDI 94-1-17998-766 pg 17

NDL 94-8-350-491

NDI 94-36511-98 Ep 27

NDI ND 110 Ep 64

STI 97-2660-69

NDI 100-3-81-7790

NDI 100-3-81-A-D.W. 9/20/47

STI 100-2247-268

NDI 100-5403-351 pg 45

NDI 100-9261-48 pg 11/12

L 100-17828-1089 1198.51

NDL 100-64700-998 Ep 1134

NDI NP 1203 Ep 925, 926,

NDI NP 1204 Ep 973, 1050,

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NDI use ND 1205 Ep 1272, 1504,

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1583, 1585, 1587,

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NDI 1212 Ep 3986, 3987,

NDI 1215 Ep 4944, 5314,

NDI 100-92526-925

NDI 100-183386-534 pg 98, 104, 245, 246, 247, 338,

NDI 100-207486-2

NDI 100-237027-13

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NUMEROUS REFERENCE

## SEARCH SLIP

Subject

George Frost Newman

Supervisor

De Betton Court

Room

4742R# 58

Date

5-1-61

Searcher

Initial

mlw

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

Impt George Sp File Room 285

NDI 65-41833-413

NDI 65-53718-17 New

Leader, N.Y. 3-19-49

NDI 65-56402-1110

NDI 65-58068-863 P22

NDI 65-59186-73 Ep 23

NDI 65-60512-1

NI 62-100769-164

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## SEARCH SLIP

Subj: George Frost KennanSupervisor De Belten Court Room 4742R# 637 Date 2-1-61 Searcher Initial new

FILE NUMBER

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58  
~~NP I~~ George  
~~NP I~~ 62-80548 637  
alphabetical section  
~~NP I~~ "World Marxist Review"  
Oct 1959 P 6  
see Publication  
~~NP I~~ 61-2543 Sec H  
~~NP I~~ 62-36434-H Journal  
American 1-6-56  
~~NP I~~ 62-58301-227  
~~NP I~~ 62-80750-1419  
IV 2614X1  
P3  
~~NP I~~ 62-94815-1  
~~NP I~~ 62-80750-2614 P2  
~~NP I~~ 62-101780-16  
~~NP I~~ 62-103901-21  
~~NP I~~ 62-104305-H N.Y.  
Journal American 1-2-58  
~~NP I~~ 64-200-201-422  
~~NP I~~ 64-200-205-1050  
~~NP I~~ 64-330-345-273  
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~~NP I~~ 65-29441-54-322  
VI 348  
~~NP I~~ 65-31329-6628 P410  
~~NP I~~ 65-37939-37X 80 FILE  
~~NP I~~ 65-37939-H Wash  
Post 5-23-47  
~~NP I~~ 65-38889-745  
~~NP I~~ 65-41833-272 285

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## NUMEROUS REFERENCE

## SEARCH SLIP

Subj: George Frost KennanSupervisor de Bettencourt Room 4742R# 58 Date 2-1 Searcher Initial Eps

## FILE NUMBER

## SERIAL

George F.

~~NDI~~ 119-412-250-176

~~NDI~~ 110-6-304-A

Wash Eve Star 8/28/47

~~NDI~~ 118-3877-3

~~NDI~~ 121-12742-40, 52

~~NDI~~ 121-18528-216 NR 637

241 NR 637

~~NDI~~ 121-23278-A

Wash Post 5-6-50

~~NDI~~ 123-14987-24

George E.

~~VI~~ 64-211-240-A

Wash Post 12/9/51

George P.

~~NDI~~ 100-4127954-1 p. 4

~~NDI~~ 100-103787-381

George Plant

~~NDI~~ 100-359325-8 ep. 46

George R.

~~NDI~~ 100-429425-36 p. 5

George S.

~~NDI~~ 65-158295-10 p. 27

Georges F.

~~NDI~~ 64-211-731-87 ep. 307

Joseph F.

~~NDI~~ 65-32871-157

~~NDI~~ 105-12189-1467

Lesson Joseph & Joe not listed

Ge. Frost

G. F.

65-37939-65

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 9-27-99 BY SP4BJA/DPW

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NUMEROUS REFERENCE

## SEARCH SLIP

Subj: George Frost KennanSupervisor W. Bettencourt Room 4742R# \_\_\_\_\_ Date 2/1 Searcher Initial Ops

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

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George F. In File - Ops

SI I 100-358267-29; 31, 32

ND I 100-364092-4

ND I 100-365088-1255

ND I 100-375019-72 *speech by Kennan*

ND I 100-378617-3

ND I 100-385355 *Find Foundation clip*

*cover initials*

*10-42 ep. 347, 348*

NPL 100-391697-292

NPL 100-418797-65, 60, 63, 64

ND I 105-10830-62 p. 37

SI I 105-11958-77 ep. 73

SI I 80

ND I 105-12325-244

ND I 105-13126-29

ND I 105-15519-1 *Find Russia Fund.*

ND I 5 ep. 83, 11

ND I 105-15519-A

ND I *no paper given 2 cards dtd 5/51*

*one NY local & one NY, NY local*

SI I 105-15940-2

ND I 105-32948-51

ND I 105-37111-51 ep. 3

ND I 105-59630-3

SI I 105-67845-11 *to 2700*

ND I 105-72815-7, 10

*105-887239-15* *NSR 2*

ND I 109-12-232-690

ND I 109-12-240-101X1

ND I 109-12-240-A

ND I *Wash Post Herald 3/19/56*

ND I *Daily Worker 7-9-47*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-27-99 BY SP4 BJA/OPW

410533

## NUMEROUS REFERENCE

## SEARCH SLIP

Subj:

George Frost Kennan

Supervisor:

de Bettencourt

Room

4742

R #

68

Date

21

Searcher

Initial

gpa

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

George F.

ND I 65-30092-3696 p. 3

NP I 65-32871-184

NP I 65-37939-163; 218.

NP I 264 ep. 1028

NP I 65-37939-A ep. Mail Run Dir II

NP I Wash Post Herald 10-23-57

NP I Wash Post 2-26-50 285

NP I 65-48824-869

NP I 65-56402-1-1945

SL 65-58068-2904

NP I 65-62842-29

NP I 94-3-4-1115-48 230 31, 32

ND I 100-0-21807; 61808

NP I 100-8871-97 X

SIV I 100-17828-786 p. 35

SIV L 1809 ep. 11

NP I 100-46986-116

NP I 100-51287-232

ND I 100-52226-1719

ND I 100-64700-998 ep. 803

NP I 1218 ep. 3000 3008

NP I 3010 3011 3048 3076

NP I 1214 ep. 4841

NP I 237

NP I 100-115040-A

NP I NY Times 9-14-55

NP I 100-308748-585

NP I 100-342972-2086

NP I 100-345183-2

NP I 100-346832-14

NP I 100-347256-1; 6

NP I 100-347990-1

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# 410933

b6  
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NUMEROUS REFERENCE

## SEARCH SLIP

Subj: George Frost KennanSupervisor A. Bettencourt Room 41742R# 68 Date 2-1 Searched Sps  
Initial Sps

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

George F.  
 NY 95-37021 R 68  
 See: Publications-aph, Sec.  
 NY ✓ "Soviet News" 3-17-60 p. 247  
 NY ✓ "Soviet News" 3-16-60 p. 242  
 AD See: Bureau Library - author of  
 "Russia, the Atom & the West"  
 NY 61-16-1A Kennan's hist. of Russ. Rev.  
 Wash Post Herald 3-10-57  
 NY 61-1292-1552 ep. 5  
 NY 61-3499-355, 356  
 NY 357  
 NY 61-7559-2-7933  
 NY 61-11246-1  
 NY 62-4270-198 p. 14  
 NY 62-6404-103 x 1 p. 6  
 NY 156 ep. 2  
 NY 62-39749-1883 far to Kennan's  
 NY 62-39749-A Tech. before Cong. interview  
 newspaper given - card dtd 6-7-60  
 NY 62-61687-1A  
 Wash Post Herald 10-11-56  
 NY 62-75147-41-275  
 NY 62-75450-13 ep. 26  
 NY 62-77787-1A  
 Wash Post Herald 9-11-56  
 NY 62-94717-3  
 NY 64-200-246-242  
 NY 64-200-246-1A  
 Daily Peoples World 9-9-49  
 NY 64-7085-37  
 NY 64-30888-3  
 NY 65-12906-14

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DATE 9-27-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

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NUMEROUS REFERENCE

## SEARCH SLIP

Subj: George Frost Kennan  
Supervisor: de Bettencourt Room 4742  
R# 637 Date 2-1 Searcher Initial Bps

58 MF FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

George F.  
62-81548 - name sheets - no investigation conducted  
-268.7/22/57  
62-60527-50195 ND  
41269  
62-5-4652

see next page for sees

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410933

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Records Branch

2-1

1961

☐ Name Searching Unit - Room 6527  
☐ Service Unit - Room 6524  
☐ Forward to File Review  
☒ Attention Mary  
☒ Return to de Bettencourt 4742  
 Supervisor Room Ext. 63

## Type of References Requested:

☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search) 417  
☒ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)  
☐ Subversive References Only  
☐ Nonsubversive References Only  
☐ Main References Only

## Type of Search Requested:

☐ Restricted to Locality of \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)  
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations

see W.W. p. 1560

Subject George Frost Kennan  
 Birthdate & Place 2-16-04 Wisc  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_

## Localities

R. 63768 Date 3-1 Searcher Initials 1961

Proc.

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

NI	100-420468-146 p 100 Sum 3/8/57
NI	121-13347-328 p 7-61 Vol #6
NI	65-58068-2904 CITRENT 2904
NI	100-17828-786 p 35
NI	100-420468-118 p 61
NI	100-418797-65 p 60, 63, 64
NI	100-385355-37 p 304
NI	100-17828-1683
NI	61-1819-20
NI	62-63146-2856
NI	62-36434-A Journal - Ann 1/6/56
NI	64-200-236-67
NI	64-7085-3
NI	94-3-4-1115-48 p 30, 31, 32
NI	105-19348-46 p 22
NI	105-12325-244
NI	105-62469-14 p 14
NI	121-23278-267 X 12 p 2113
NI	1265, 1333, 1334, 1435, 1440, 2029,
NI	2473 Cont - 1046 p 2513 X 7311



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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office <b>ST. LOUIS</b>	Office of Origin <b>BUREAU</b>	Date <b>2/6/61</b>	Investigative Period <b>2/3-6/61</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>GEORGE FROST KENNAN</b>		Report made by IC <span style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 150px; height: 1.2em; vertical-align: middle;"></span>	Typed By clw <sup>b6</sup> <sup>b7C</sup>
		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>SPI</b>	

Synopsis:

REFERENCES: Washington Field teletype, 2/3/61.  
St. Louis teletype, 2/6/61.

STATUS: RUC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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Approved <i>[Signature]</i> Special Agent in Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
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	NOT RECORDED 15 FEB 8 1961	
	<i>[Handwritten signatures and initials]</i>	

- A\* -  
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

## Copy to:

Report of:

IC [REDACTED]

Office: ST. LOUIS

b6  
b7C

Date:

February 6, 1961

Field Office File No.:

St. Louis 161-171

Bureau File No.:

Title:

GEORGE FROST KENNAN

Character:

SPECIAL INQUIRY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-16-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

## Synopsis:

Records FRC, GSA, St. Louis, Mo., indicate GEORGE FROST KENNAN employed by Dept. of State, Washington, D.C. Terminated by reason of retirement. Assignments set forth. Employed by Dept. of State, Washington, D.C. Terminated by reason of completion of assignment. Christmas Post Office employment indicated and unlocated. Relatives set forth.

- RUC -

DETAILS: AT ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

On February 6, 1961, a review of the personnel records Federal Records Center, General Services Administration, St. Louis, Missouri, for GEORGE FROST KENNAN indicated that he was employed on September 1, 1926, as a foreign service officer with the Department of State at Washington, D.C. This employment was terminated on July 29, 1953, as a foreign service officer by reason of retirement.

The records reflected the following assignments:

April 22, 1927, Vice Consul, Geneva, Switzerland;  
July 15, 1927, Vice Consul, Hamburg, Germany;  
April 4, 1928, Vice Consul, Berlin, Germany;  
July 1, 1928, Vice Consul, Pallinn, Esthonia;  
December 11, 1928, Third Secretary, Riga, Latvia;  
May 25, 1929, Vice Consul, Berlin, Germany, for  
language study;  
September 17, 1931, Third Secretary, Riga, Latvia;  
November 27, 1933 - December 20, 1933, accompanied  
Ambassador BULLITT to Moscow, Russia;

SL 161-171

December 27, 1933, Foreign Service Officer, Moscow, Russia;  
January 18, 1935, Counsul, Vienna, Austria;  
October 29, 1935, Second Secretary, Moscow, Russia;  
August 19, 1937, Foreign Service Officer, Washington, D.C.;  
August 26, 1938, Second Secretary, Prague, Czechoslovakia;  
September 12, 1939, Second Secretary, Berlin, Germany;  
August 9, 1942, Foreign Service Officer, Washington, D.C.;  
August 31, 1942, Counsellor of Legation, Lisbon, Portugal;  
December 1, 1943, Counsellor on the American delegation to the European Advisory Commission, London, England;  
May 22, 1944, Counsellor of Embassy, Moscow, Russia;  
April 26, 1946, Foreign Service Officer, Washington, D.C.;  
Approximately September, 1946 - May, 1947, Deputy for Foreign Affairs, National War College, Washington, D.C.;  
May 5, 1947, Special Assistant, Office of the Secretary, Policy Planning Staff, Washington, D.C.;  
August 4, 1949, Counsellor of the Department of State, Policy Planning Staff, Washington, D.C.;  
July 3, 1950 - April 3, 1952, Annual Leave and Leave Without Pay, Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey;  
April 4, 1952, Ambassador, Moscow, Russia;  
April 29, 1953, Foreign Service Officer, Washington, D.C.

He received an Excepted Appointed on March 1, 1954, as a Consultant, when actually employed, with the Department of State, Office of the Under Secretary at Washington, D.C. This appointment was terminated on March 16, 1954, in the same position by reason of completion of assignment.

The records indicated that he was employed by the U.S. Post Office, Christmas, Trenton, New Jersey, 1922, however personnel of the Federal Records Center advised that no record could be located and further stated that Christmas

SL 161-171

Post Office records formerly maintained at this facility had been destroyed per U.S. Post Office Records Disposition Schedule.

His parents were listed as KOSSUTH KENT KENNAN, 309 Cambridge Avenue, Milwaukee, Wisconsin (1925) and FLORENCE JAMES KENNAN, deceased.

His wife was shown as [REDACTED], born in Norway, married September 11, 1931.

The date and place of birth were shown as February 16, 1904, at Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office <b>NEW YORK</b>	Office of Origin <b>BUREAU</b>	Date <b>2/7/61</b>	Investigative Period <b>2/7/61</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>GEORGE FROST KENNAN</b>		Report made by <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>	Typed By: <b>ahd</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>SPECIAL INQUIRY</b>	

XXXXX  
Synopsis

REFERENCE: Newark teletype to Director 2/7/61.

- RUC -

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
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Approved <i>[Signature]</i>	Special Agent In Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of:

Date:

2/7/61

Office: NEW YORK

b6  
b7c

Field Office File No.: New York 161-162

Bureau File No.:

Title:

GEORGE FROST KENNAN

Character:

SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis:

Appointee received the honorary degree of  
Doctor of Laws from New School for Social  
Research in 1955.

- RUC -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-3-99 BY SP4BJA/DIAW

II 410933

NY 161-162

DETAILS:

Miscellaneous

On February 7, 1961 [REDACTED],  
New School for Social Research, 66 West 12th Street, New  
York, New York, advised that the appointee received the  
honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from this school in 1955.  
At that time the appointee was associated with the Institute  
for Advanced Studies, Princeton, New Jersey. He added that  
the appointee did not reside in New York City. He could  
suggest no one who was personally acquainted with the appointee.

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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

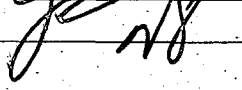
Reporting Office <b>NEW HAVEN</b>	Office of Origin <b>BUREAU</b>	Date <b>2/7/61</b>	Investigative Period <b>2/7/61</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>GEORGE FROST KENNAN</b>		Report made by <b>SA</b> <span style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 150px; height: 1.2em; vertical-align: middle;"></span>	Typed By: <b>mac</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>SPI</b>	

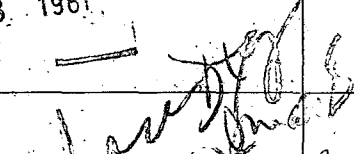
REFERENCE: Newark airtel to Bureau, 2/7/61.

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II 410933

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		NOT RECORDED 3 FEB 8 1961	



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED]  
Date: February 7, 1961

Office: NEW HAVEN

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Field Office File No.: 161-81

Bureau File No.:

Title: GEORGE FROST KENNAN

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIEDDATE 8-3-77 BY SP4 BTA/DFW  
410933

Synopsis:

Appointee awarded Honorary Doctor of Laws Degree by Yale University, New Haven, Conn., June, 1950; has taught seminar on Soviet Foreign Policy, School of Graduate Studies, Yale University, October, 1960 to January, 1961. No credit or criminal record at New Haven, Conn., regarding KENNAN.

- RUC -

DETAILS:At New Haven, Connecticut

On February 7, 1961, Dr. REUBEN A. HOLDEN, Secretary of Yale University, advised that GEORGE FROST KENNAN of the Institute For Advanced Study, of Princeton, New Jersey, held an appointment as a Visiting Lecturer in History in the School of Graduate Studies, Yale University, during the first term of the current academic year, ie, from October, 1960, to January, 1961. Dr. HOLDEN advised that the appointee's academic work was under the personal direction of Professor GEORGE W. PIERSON, Chairman of the Department of History at Yale University.

Dr. HOLDEN advised that the records of his office reflect GEORGE FROST KENNAN was awarded an Honorary Doctor of Laws Degree by Yale University on June 12, 1960, in recognition of the outstanding work KENNAN had exhibited in the field of Foreign Relations in his position as Counselor to the United States Department of State.

On February 7, 1961, GEORGE W. PIERSON, Larned Professor of History and Chairman of the Department of History, Yale University, advised that appointee had served as a Visiting Lecturer in History for the first semester of the present academic year, and conducted a weekly seminar; a course entitled "History of Soviet Foreign Policy to the Death of STALIN".

Professor PIERSON advised that several years ago he first contacted the appointee and sought his assistance in developing an outline for a program of Russian studies to be developed at the School of Graduate Studies at Yale University. He stated that the appointee at that time was at the Institute For Advanced Study at Princeton, New Jersey, and was of material assistance in outlining a program of studies in Russian language and literature, and Russian History. He stated that an invitation was extended to the appointee to participate in teaching Russian History at Yale at that time, but that because of other commitments the appointee was unable to do so. He stated that a year ago the appointee did agree to come to New Haven, once a week to teach a seminar in the History of Soviet Foreign Policy and that he did in fact, teach this seminar at Yale to a small select group of Graduate students. He stated that the appointee commuted once a week from Princeton, New Jersey, to New Haven, to conduct this seminar, and that he did an outstanding and eminently satisfactory job in this connection.

Professor PIERSON stated that the appointee had impressed him as being one of the most original and interesting thinkers on contemporary world affairs and has been particularly knowledgeable in connection with the field of Russian History.

Professor PIERSON stated that on the personal side the appointee "is a twentieth century Puritan Yankee, a very conscientious, thoughtful, and perceptive man, who has a natural teaching instinct and a desire to enlighten and instruct his fellow man."

NH 161-81

Professor PIERSON stated that he had such a high regard for the appointee and the work he did in the weekly seminar he held at Yale, that he hoped to offer the appointee a full professorship in Russian History in an effort to bring him to Yale's faculty on a full time basis.

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Professor PIERSON stated that all his impressions of the appointee's ability, character, reputation, and associations were of the very highest character and that he would certainly recommend him in the highest terms for a position of great trust and confidence in Government service.

Miscellaneous

On February 7, 1961, Officer [ ] of the New Haven, Connecticut Police Department, Record Room, and [ ] of the New Haven Credit Bureau, both advised that there was no record in their files identifiable with the appointee.

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office SAN ANTONIO	Office of Origin BUREAU	Date 2/7/61	Investigative Period 2/7/61
TITLE OF CASE GEORGE FROST KENNAN		Report made by SA <span style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 100px; height: 1.2em; vertical-align: middle;"></span>	Typed By: kab
		CHARACTER OF CASE Special Inquiry	

Synopsis:

## REFERENCE

Re Newark teletype to San Antonio dated 2/7/61

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**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

## Copy to:

Report of:

SA [REDACTED]

Office:

SAN ANTONIO

Date:

2/7/61

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b7c

Field Office File No.:

161-19

Bureau File No.:

Title:

GEORGE FROST KENNAN

Character:

Special Inquiry

## Synopsis:

KENNAN'S [REDACTED], [REDACTED], employed as professor of music, The University of Texas, is highly regarded. No credit or arrest record on [REDACTED] at Austin.

-RUC-

DETAILS:AT AUSTIN, TEXAS

The University of Texas Staff Directory lists KENNAN'S [REDACTED], [REDACTED], as Professor of Music.

On February 7, 1961, Dr. E. W. DOTY, Dean of College of Fine Arts, the University of Texas, informed that he has known KENNAN'S [REDACTED], [REDACTED], since 1932. DR. DOTY stated that he employed [REDACTED] as Professor of Music in the College of Fine Arts, the University of Texas in 1940. He related that [REDACTED] is one of the most brilliant men in the United States in the field of music and music theory. He is internationally known and highly regarded. He is a full Professor of Music, ~~employed~~ as Graduate Counselor and Graduate Advisor at the University of Texas. Dr. DOTY said that he has never had any reason to question [REDACTED] character, associates, or his loyalty to the U. S.

serves

per SA [REDACTED]  
2/10/61

On February 7, 1961, [REDACTED], [REDACTED], and [REDACTED], Identification Division, Austin Police, informed they have no record identifiable with [REDACTED].

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office <b>DETROIT</b>	Office of Origin <b>BUREAU</b>	Date <b>2/7/61</b>	Investigative Period <b>2/7/61</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>GEORGE FROST KENNAN</b>		Report made by <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 15px; width: 100px;"></div>	b6 b7C Typed By: <b>BAJ</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>SPI</b>	

REFERENCE: Newark teletype to Director dated 2/7/61.

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		NOT RECORDED 7 FEB 9 1961	

- A\* -  
Cover Page

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

## Copy to:

Report of:  
Date:[REDACTED]  
February 7, 1961

Office: Detroit, Michigan

b6  
b7C

Field Office File No.: Detroit 161-52

Bureau File No.:

Title: GEORGE FROST KENNAN

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis: GEORGE FROST KENNAN awarded Honorary Doctor of Law degree by University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., 6/57.

- RUC -

DETAILS: AT ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

On February 7, 1961, [REDACTED], Receptionist, Alumni Catalogue Office, University of Michigan, made available the Regents Report for the period August, 1954, to June, 1957, which reflects on page 1607 that GEORGE FROST KENNAN was awarded an Honorary Doctor of Law degree by the University in June, 1957, graduation time. The honorary degree described appointee as "diplomat, historian, philosopher".

[REDACTED] advised that this is the only information contained in the files of the University of Michigan regarding this honorary degree of GEORGE FROST KENNAN. She stated that she could suggest no one who would be personally acquainted with Mr. KENNAN.



# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU**

REPORT MADE AT <b>INDIANAPOLIS</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>2/7/61</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>2/7/61</b>	REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 15px; display: inline-block;"></div> :bjk
TITLE <b>GEORGE FROST KENNAN</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>SPECIAL INQUIRY</b>

b6  
b7c

~~SYNOPSIS OF FACTS~~

REFERENCE: Newark teletype to Bureau, 2/7/61.

- RUC -

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DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
4410933

*me*

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
		<b>161-281-10</b>	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT		NOT RECORDED <b>18 FEB 9 1961</b> <i>[Signature]</i>	
1 - Bureau 1 - Indianapolis (161-25)			

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of:

SA [REDACTED]

Office: INDIANAPOLIS

Date:

February 7, 1961

b6  
b7c

Field Office File No.: IP 161-25

Bureau File No.:

Title:

GEORGE FROST KENNAN

Character:

SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis:

Appointee received honorary degree, Notre Dame University, South Bend, Indiana, 5/15/53, at special convocation dedicating the new Liberal Arts Building on Notre Dame campus. Reverend THEODORE M. HESBURGH, President, Notre Dame University, advised has known appointee since 1952 and sponsored him for honorary degree. He has met appointee only on several occasions. Believed him to be of good character, reputation, associates, and loyal American from his knowledge and observation. Would recommend. No credit or criminal record South Bend, Indiana.

- RUC -

DETAILS: AT SOUTH BEND, INDIANA

Reverend THEODORE M. HESBURGH, President, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana, advised on February 7, 1961, that the University on May 15, 1953, conferred the Degree of Doctor of Letters, honoris cause, on GEORGE FROST KENNAN at a special convocation marking the dedication of the new I. A. O'Shaughnessy Hall of Liberal and Fine Arts.

Reverend HESBURGH related that he has known KENNAN many years by reputation as a scholar and through his works and writings. He has known him personally since 1952, however,

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-3-99 BY

SP4BSA/dw

410933

IP 161-25

he would not consider himself a close personal friend of the appointee because he has seen him only on several occasions. He stated the appointee has approximately twenty-six years as a career diplomat and was United States ambassador to the U.S.S.R. in 1952. He regards the appointee highly and sponsored him for the honorary degree at Notre Dame. From his knowledge and observation it is his belief the appointee is highly regarded, of good moral character and reputation, maintains good associates and would not question his loyalty to the United States. He would recommend the appointee for a position of trust and responsibility with the government.

[redacted] Clerk, Credit Bureau of South Bend, 510 National Bank Building, South Bend, Indiana, advised on February 7, 1961, she had no information on the name of the appointee.

[redacted] Clerk, Records Section, South Bend, Indiana Police Department, advised on February 7, 1961, she had no record on the name of the appointee.

[redacted] Clerk, Records Section, Sheriff's Office, St. Joseph County, South Bend, Indiana, advised on February 7, 1961, their records contained no information on the name of the appointee.

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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office <b>NEWARK</b>	Office of Origin <b>BUREAU</b>	Date <b>2/7/61</b>	Investigative Period <b>2/6/61</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>GEORGE FROST KENNAN</b>		Report made by <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 15px; width: 100%;"></div>	Typed By <b>PAD</b> b6 b7C
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>SPECIAL INQUIRY</b>	

REFERENCES

Washington Field teletype, 2/3/61.  
Newark teletype, 2/6/61.

-RUC-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
E410933

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		NOT RECORDED 11 FEB 8 1961	

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of:

Date:

2/7/61

Office: NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

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Field Office File No.:

161-49

Bureau File No.:

Title:

GEORGE FROST KENNAN

Character:

SPECIAL INQUIRY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-4-99 BY SP4 BJA/DFW  
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Synopsis:

KENNAN's employment at the Institute for Advanced Study and his association with Princeton University verified. Biographical sketch set forth. Professor ANDREW ALFOLDI, Institute for Advanced Study hesitated in recommending KENNAN for a position of trust with the State Department as he felt KENNAN advocated a "too soft" policy concerning the Soviet Union. Other associates and neighbors recommended KENNAN for a position of trust and considered him a loyal American citizen. KENNAN and family have an excellent credit rating and no arrest record located Princeton, N.J.

-RUC-

DETAILS:EMPLOYMENT

Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey

[redacted],  
Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, advised SA [redacted] on February 6, 1961 that her files reflect KENNAN was given a temporary appointment for one year as a member of the School of Historical Studies at the Institute beginning on July 1, 1950 and scheduled to terminate on June 30, 1951. She stated that on July 1, 1951, KENNAN was offered a five year temporary membership in the School of Historical Studies which was due to continue through 1956, however, in May, 1952, KENNAN took a

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leave of absence and assumed the position as United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union. She stated that KENNAN retired from the Foreign Service on July 29, 1953 returning to the Institute for Advanced Study and that in October, 1954 his temporary membership in the School of Historical Studies was extended until June, 1961. She advised that on January 1, 1956, KENNAN was appointed as a professor in the School of Historical Studies on a permanent basis.

[ ] advised that inasmuch as KENNAN is presently on a permanent basis with the faculty of the Institute, he will be placed on a leave of absence if he assumes the position as Ambassador to Yugoslavia. She stated that as of the present time no formal approval has been given for this leave of absence, but she was positive that this approval would be given by the Board of Directors at their next meeting.

[ ] said her files reflected KENNAN's permanent address as RD 2 East Berlin, Pennsylvania and that his address in 1950 was 77 Bayard Lane, Princeton, New Jersey, where he resided for a short period until he purchased a home at 146 Hodge Road, Princeton, New Jersey. She stated her files contained nothing unfavorable regarding KENNAN's character, reputation loyalty or associates.

[ ], Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, advised SA [ ] on February 6, 1961 that she has known Professor KENNAN since 1944 and became his [ ] in 1945 while KENNAN was at the American Embassy in Moscow. She stated she has been his [ ] ever since with the exception of his first year at the Institute for Advanced Study and also the time spent during the academic year 1957-1958 while Professor KENNAN was a lecturer at Oxford University.

[ ] advised that KENNAN's intelligence is beyond her ability to describe, he has ability to get along well with people, is humble and yet forceful in his beliefs. She stated that KENNAN enjoys an ideal family life and that his wife, [ ], speaks several languages and is a very gracious individual. She described Professor KENNAN as an individual of the highest moral reputation, character and associates and regarded him as a loyal American citizen. [ ] stated she would not hesitate in any manner in recommending Professor KENNAN for a position of the highest amount of trust with the government.

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[redacted] stated that Professor KENNAN's family consist of his wife. [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

[redacted]. She stated that KENNAN had a [redacted]  
[redacted] who is affiliated with [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

[redacted] furnished a biographical sketch concerning KENNAN which reflected he was born February 16, 1904 at Milwaukee, Wisconsin and that his parents, KOSSUTH KENT and FLORENCE KENNAN are deceased. He attended St. James Military Academy, Delafield, Wisconsin and obtained his A.B. Degree from Princeton University in 1925. In 1930 he received a diploma from the Berlin Seminary for Oriental Languages. He obtained Honorary LLD Degrees from the following universities:

Yale University  
Dartmouth College, 1950  
Colgate University, 1951  
University of Notre Dame, 1953  
Kenyon College, 1954  
The New School for Social Research, 1955  
Princeton University, 1956  
University of Michigan  
Northwestern University, 1957  
Brandeis University, 1958

He obtained an Honorary Masters Degree from Oxford University in 1957.

[redacted] said the biographical sketch contained the following information concerning Professor KENNAN's career:

Appointed Foreign Service Office, September 1, 1926.  
Vice Consul, Geneva, Switzerland, 1927; Hamburg, 1927;  
Berlin, 1928; Tallinn, 1928.  
Third Secretary Riga (Kovno and Tallinn), 1929.  
Language Officer, Berlin, 1929.  
Third Secretary, Riga, 1931.  
Accompanied Ambassador BULLITT to Moscow (to re-open American Embassy), 1933.  
Consul at Vienna, 1935.

Second Secretary, Moscow, 1935  
Department of State, Washington, D.C., 1937  
Second Secretary, Praha, 1938  
Consul, Prague, 1939  
Second Secretary, Berlin, 1939  
First Secretary, Berlin, 1940 (interned at Bad Nauheim, 1941; repatriated in 1942).  
Department of State, Washington, D.C., 1942  
Counselor, Lisbon, 1942  
Counselor, American Delegation to the European Advisory Commission, London, 1943  
Minister - Counselor, Moscow, 1944  
Deputy for Foreign Affairs, National War College, Washington, D.C., 1946  
Director, Planning Staff, Department of State, Washington, D.C., 1947  
Counselor of the Department of State, 1949  
Leave of Absence at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, October, 1950  
Charles R. Wagreen Foundation lecturer at the University of Chicago, 1951  
Ambassador to the Soviet Union, 1952  
Retired from Foreign Service, July 29, 1953  
Member, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N.J., 1953  
Stafford Little lecturer at the Princeton University, 1954  
Permanent Professor, School of Historical Studies, Institute for Advanced Study, January 1, 1956  
George Eastman Visiting Professor, Balliol College, Oxford University, 1957 - 1958  
March - April, 1960, visiting lecturer, Harvard University  
October, 1960 - January, 1961 conducted seminar in history of Soviet Foreign Policy at Yale University

[redacted] stated that KENNAN belonged to the following organizations:

American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, Massachusetts  
American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
American Historical Association, Washington, D.C.  
American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Association of Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey



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Century Association, New York City  
Committee for Promotion of Advanced Slavic Cultural  
Studies, New York City  
Consul on Foreign Relations, New York City  
D.A.C.O.R., New York City (Diplomatic and Consular  
Officials Retired)  
Foreign Service Association, New York City

[redacted] advised that in 1951, KENNAN received the Freedom House award for his book entitled "American Diplomacy 1900 - 1950". In 1957 KENNAN received the National Book award the Bancroft, Francis Parkman and Pulitzer prizes for Volume I of his book Soviet - American Relations, 1917 - 1920, which was entitled "Russia Leaves the War".

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[redacted], member of the School of Historical Studies, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, advised SA [redacted] on February 6, 1961 that he has known Dr. KENNAN since 1934 and had seen him on various occasions in Washington, D.C. and Princeton, New Jersey until two years ago when he, [redacted], came to the Institute for Advanced Study. He stated that during the last two years he and KENNAN have enjoyed a close friendly professional and social acquaintanceship. He described KENNAN as a great American who had an exceptionally keen mind. He stated that KENNAN had pure motives and possessed the old style American puritan virtues. [redacted] stated that KENNAN loves his country and lived as a public servant even when he was out of the government. [redacted] described KENNAN as a man of the highest moral character, reputation and associates and considered him to be a loyal American citizen without question. He advised that KENNAN could stay at the Institute for Advanced Study and be better off financially, but felt it was his duty to serve his government. [redacted] stated that he would recommend KENNAN without question for any high level appointment with the Department of State.

Professor MILLARD MEISS, permanent member, School of Historical Studies, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, advised SA [redacted] on February 6, 1961 that he has known KENNAN personally for the last two-and-one-half years both professionally and socially. He said that KENNAN presently owns a farm in East Berlin, Pennsylvania as well as owning a home in Princeton, New Jersey, where his wife and two younger children reside.

MEISS advised it was difficult to speak concerning KENNAN's character, reputation, loyalty or associates except in

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superlative terms. He stated KENNAN was a man of rare integrity and altruism both in his personal and public life. He advised that KENNAN was a gifted person inasmuch as KENNAN was able to combine his intellectual pursuits with his service to the United States. He felt that KENNAN had a strong sense of responsibility and was a steady and courageous individual. He felt that the United States would be extremely fortunate if the government could get him to continue with his public service. MEISS advised that there is no question in his mind concerning KENNAN's loyalty to the United States and stated he would not hesitate in recommending him for a responsible position with the government.

Professor HAROLD F. CHERNISS, permanent member, School of Historical Studies, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, advised SA [ ] on February 6, 1961 that he first met Dr. KENNAN in 1950 when KENNAN received a temporary appointment to the Institute for Advanced Study. He stated that KENNAN went to the Soviet Union as the American Ambassador during 1952 and returned to the Institute in 1953 and has been a member (permanent) since January 1, 1956. CHERNISS stated KENNAN received world wide publicity when at the airport in Berlin, Germany in answering a newspaper reporter's questions he stated that living in the Soviet Union was like being in a concentration camp. CHERNISS stated that shortly thereafter KENNAN was declared persona non grata by the Soviet Government.

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Professor CHERNISS stated that he sees KENNAN approximately once a week both at faculty and social engagements. He considered KENNAN's character, reputation, loyalty and associates to be above reproach. He stated that KENNAN was intelligent but displayed no arrogance or conceit. He felt that KENNAN would be a devoted and conscientious public servant and stated he would not hesitate in recommending KENNAN for the highest possible position with the government.

[ ] permanent member, School of Historical Studies, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, advised SA [ ] on February 6, 1961 that he has known Professor KENNAN since July 1, 1955 when he, [ ] was appointed to the Institute for Advanced Study, and since that time has had many talks with KENNAN concerning Russia.

[ ] stated that he is in disagreement with many of KENNAN's ideas as far as Russia is concerned. He stated that

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he wished to qualify his disagreements by stating that he came to the United States from Hungary in 1947 and as a result lived under the Russian regime for approximately two-and-one-half years during which time he endured many bitter experiences as far as the Communists were concerned and has also recently had reason to believe that his brother was murdered by the Communists.

[ ] stated that he believes KENNAN has certain sympathies toward the Soviet Government. He advised he did not wish to lead anyone to believe that he felt that KENNAN was in any way a Communist tool, but he believed that KENNAN had optimistic viewpoints concerning the Communists, which were described by [ ] as "Communist gangsters".

[ ] felt that KENNAN's optimistic viewpoints concerning the Communists were unconsciously influencing his ideas. He felt that because of KENNAN's experiences in the Foreign Service field he would be able to do an excellent job of handling the position as Ambassador to Yugoslavia, but felt he would have to hesitate in recommending him for a high level State Department appointment as he feels KENNAN advocates a "too soft" policy towards the Soviet regime. [ ] added that because of the bitter experiences he has had with the Communists, he is the advocate of a strong forceful policy towards the Soviet Union.

[ ] advised that he did not wish to furnish a signed statement and did not wish to be compelled to testify before a Security Hearing Board because of personal reasons.

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EMPLOYMENT

U. S. Post Office  
Trenton, New Jersey

FRANK MATHIS, Assistant Postmaster, Trenton, New Jersey, advised SA [ ] on February 7, 1961, that his office does not maintain employment records for Christmas employees for more than a one year period. He stated he was unable to locate any record for GEORGE F. KENNAN.

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NAH;rac

Education

Princeton University  
Princeton, New Jersey

The following investigation was conducted by  
SA [ ] on February 6, 1961:

[ ], Assistant to the Registrar,  
made available the scholastic record for GEORGE FROST KENNAN  
and this reflected the following information:

KENNAN commenced school in Princeton University in  
February, 1922, and graduated in June, 1925, receiving an A. B.  
Degree with a major in History. He graduated with a 2.72 average  
and ranked 83rd in a class of 219. During his junior and senior  
years, he averaged a 3-plus in his major of History.

He was a member of the Key and Seal Club and also a  
member of the Whig-Clio Club while an undergraduate at Princeton  
University.

His parents were listed as Mr. K. KENNAN and LOUISE  
WHEELER KENNAN, 309 Cambridge Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.  
He attended St. Johns Military Academy, Delafield, Wisconsin.  
These records reflected that he was born on February 16, 1904,  
in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. These records reflected that his father  
was a lawyer and a graduate of Repon College and his mother was  
a graduate of the University of Michigan.

[ ] Secretary, Bureau of Alumni Records,  
made available the following alumni record for GEORGE FROST  
KENNAN:

This record reflected that after graduating from  
Princeton University with an A. B. Degree in 1925, KENNAN  
applied for a position with the United States Foreign Service,  
and entered this service in 1926. He served in the Foreign Ser-  
vice as an officer between the years 1927 and 1944 in Berlin,  
Riga, Vienna, Moscow, Prague, Lisbon and London. From 1933 to  
1935, he was the Russian speaking aid to Ambassador BULLIT in  
Moscow and remained there until 1937.

During World War II, he was the First Secretary of  
the American Legation in Berlin. He was placed in a concentra-  
tion camp for enemy diplomats by the Germans and after his re-  
lease from this concentration camp, he became the Counselor  
of the American Legation in Lisbon and later received the position  
of Counselor to the American Delegation to the European Advisory  
Commission in London in 1943.

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He was Minister Counselor to Ambassador AVERELL HARRIMAN in Moscow in 1945 to 1946 and served in the same capacity for a short while after that to General W. BEDILL SMITH. He then returned to the U. S. Department of Foreign Affairs to the new National War College and then became the Chief of the State Department Policy Planning Staff and while in this capacity he originated the "containment of Russia" policy. In 1949, he continued as a counselor to the State Department and in 1950 left the State Department on extended leave of absence to take a position with the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey.

In 1952, he returned to the Foreign Service as Ambassador to Russia. He remained in this position from April, 1952, until October, 1952, when he was recalled from Moscow at the Kremlin's request for allegedly "slandering" the Soviet Union.

In 1953, he returned to the Institute for Advanced Study where he has remained to date as a professor.

While a professor at the Institute for Advanced Study KENNAN has delivered Stafford Little lectures at Princeton University in 1951 and again in 1953-1954. He has also served as a member of the Advisory Council in the Department of History at Princeton University and as an alumni trustee from 1951 until 1955.

In 1957, he was the George Eastman Visiting Professor at Oxford University in England for the academic year 1957-1958.

In January, 1961, he was listed as returning to the U. S. Diplomatic Service as Ambassador to Yugoslavia.

While at the Institute for Advanced Study, KENNAN commenced writing a chronicle of Soviet-American relations from 1917 to 1920. This was to be written in three volumes. Volume one was titled "Russia Leaves the War" and this volume received a Pulitzer Prize in 1957 and also the Non-Fiction Gold Medal Award from the American Book Publishers Council, the American Booksellers Association and the Book Manufacturers Institute in 1957. The second volume was published in 1958 and was titled "The Decision to Intervene".

In 1954, he entered the race for Democratic nomination to Congress in Pennsylvania's 19th district. However, several days after entering this race, he withdrew because three

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other individuals also entered the race for the Democratic nomination and he decided that his personal commitments at Princeton University would prevent him from fulfilling those commitments which he would meet in this primary contest were he to continue in it. At this time, he owned a farm in East Berlin, Adams County, Pennsylvania. He had owned this farm since 1942.

He is an active layman of the Presbyterian Church and a member of the First Church in Princeton, New Jersey.

In June, 1956, he received the honorary degrees of Doctor of Laws from both Dartmouth and Yale Universities. Also, in 1956, he received a Doctor of Laws honorary degree at the Princeton University Bicentennial Convocation.

While an undergraduate student at Princeton University, KENNAN resided at 58 Wiggins Street, Princeton, while a freshman; at 115 Pine Hall, Princeton University, while a sophomore and at 14 Little Hall during his junior and senior years.

[redacted] Assistant to the Secretary of the University, advised that KENNAN had conducted one Stafford Little lecture in 1951 on the topic of "World War II." She stated that in 1953 and 1954, he conducted four Stafford Little lectures on the topic "Basic Factors in America's Foreign Relations."

[redacted] further advised that KENNAN was elected in June, 1951, to a term as Alumni Trustee which term lasted until June, 1955. She stated that the alumni trustees were elected for a four-year period and they met about four times a year. She stated there were 42 to 45 members on the Alumni Trustees.

She stated that Professor D. C. SAYRE, former Chairman of the Faculty Committee on Public Lectures, Princeton University, had been in charge of the Stafford Little series when KENNAN lectured in these series in 1951, 1953 and 1954, but he was now deceased. She stated that she did not know anyone else who would be able to comment on KENNAN's Stafford Little lectures at present.

Professor JOSEPH R. STRAYER, Chairman of the History Department, Princeton University, advised SAS [redacted] and [redacted] on February 6, 1961, that he

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had been a fellow classmate of GEORGE F. KENNAN, graduating from Princeton University together in the Class of 1925. He stated that he had maintained contact with KENNAN over the years and that KENNAN has served on the Advisory Committee of the History Department in the past. He stated that this is an honorary position and the Advisory Committee is made up of a group of distinguished persons who are chosen because of their distinguished positions. He stated they meet for dinners several times a year but really have no official status with the History Department of Princeton University.

Professor STRAYER said that KENNAN majored in history and was a serious student. He stated that even during the time that he was an undergraduate at Princeton, he was intent on Russian affairs. He said that KENNAN made a good record at Princeton and is a distinguished alumnus.

Professor STRAYER stated that he has also had a social relationship with KENNAN and his family and considers him to be a person of the highest integrity and character and a loyal citizen. He said that KENNAN is a very able person and is extremely well qualified for a top position with the U. S. Government. He said he has no reservations at all concerning KENNAN and would recommend him highly for a position of trust and confidence.

Professor STRAYER advised that he knew of no other classmates of KENNAN and himself who were in the Princeton, New Jersey, and with whom KENNAN would have maintained any active association during the years since he has returned to Princeton from the Foreign Service.



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RFV:rac

Neighborhood

146 Hodge Road  
Princeton, New Jersey

The following investigation was conducted by SA [ ]  
[ ] on February 6, 1961:

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[ ], [ ], advised that she has known GEORGE KENNAN and his family as neighbors for approximately ten years. She stated that the KENNANs are excellent people and enjoy an excellent reputation in the neighborhood and are friendly and considerate of their fellow neighbors. She said that although KENNAN is a prominent person and is well known for his work in the State Department of the U. S. Government, he is also held in the highest regard by his neighbors as a member of the neighborhood.

[ ] stated that she would have no question or reservations whatsoever concerning KENNAN's character and his loyalty to the U. S. She said that in her opinion, he is well qualified for any position of trust with the U. S. Government.

[ ], [ ], advised he has known GEORGE KENNAN since KENNAN moved into the neighborhood eight or nine years ago following KENNAN's return to the U. S. from his post as Ambassador to Russia. He said that KENNAN has been an excellent neighbor and he knows him to be a good family man and an excellent father to his children. [ ] said that KENNAN enjoys a good reputation and association with the people in the neighborhood and that he is an active member in the church he attends. He said that in his opinion, KENNAN is well qualified for any high position in the U. S. Government, and he considers him a loyal citizen of the U. S. whom he would recommend highly for any position of trust.

[ ], advised that he is a neighbor of GEORGE KENNAN and has been socially acquainted with him for a period of approximately ten years. He advised KENNAN is regarded by Princetonians as one of the most esteemed individuals in the Princeton, New Jersey area. He stated further there is no question whatsoever in his mind concerning the loyalty and patriotism of KENNAN to the U. S. of America.

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RFV:rac

[redacted] [redacted] advised that she has been a neighbor of GEORGE KENNAN and his family for approximately five years and that she has had a limited association with them in view of the fact they are younger people. [redacted] stated, however, that KENNAN enjoys an excellent reputation in the neighborhood and in the community of Princeton, and that she considers the KENNANs to be people of the highest integrity and of the best character. She stated that she felt KENNAN is well qualified to hold any position of trust in the U. S. Government, and is a loyal American citizen.

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[redacted] [redacted] advised that she had resided in the neighborhood for a period of only three weeks and knew GEORGE KENNAN only by reputation. She stated that she did not feel she knew him well enough to make a statement concerning his personal character, integrity and loyalty to the U. S. or to comment on his associations.

#### Credit and Arrest

Chief RAYMOND MONDONE, Princeton, New Jersey Police Department, advised February 6, 1961, that GEORGE F. KENNAN has no arrest record with this department. He stated that KENNAN is a distinguished citizen in the borough of Princeton, New Jersey, and enjoys a good reputation in the community.

The following investigation was conducted by SA [redacted]

[redacted]:  
On February 6, 1961, files of the Credit Bureau of Trenton, 141 East Front Street, Trenton, New Jersey, which agency covers the Princeton, New Jersey area, were checked and it was ascertained that GEORGE F. KENNAN, a professor at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, had resided with his wife, [redacted] at 146 Hodge Road, Princeton, New Jersey, since 1952. His wife was listed as his only dependent and the record shows he has an excellent credit rating in the Trenton and Princeton area.

On February 6, 1961, [redacted] Supervisor, Criminal Records Section, State Bureau of Identification of New Jersey, State Police, West Trenton, New Jersey, which covers Princeton and the State of New Jersey, advised there was no information in the files of the State Bureau of Identification on GEORGE F. KENNAN or any member of his family.

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DEB:jfs

CREDIT AND ARREST

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Detective [REDACTED], Trenton, New Jersey,  
Police Department, advised SA [REDACTED] on February 7,  
1961, his files contained no arrest record for KENNAN.

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MISCELLANEOUS

The files of the "Trenton Times" newspaper, Trenton, New Jersey were checked on February 6, 1961 by SA [redacted] and reflected an Associated Press article dated May 15, 1952 which in part read as follows:

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"Kennan attracted much diplomatic attention in 1947 by putting forth the idea that the United States ought to 'contain' Communism. Then Chief of the State Department Policy Planning Staff, he advanced the idea that became the United States policy in an article written under the pseudonym of 'Mr. X' in Foreign Affairs in 1947.

"It is clear that the main element of any United States Policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of a long term, patient, but firm and vigilant containment of Russian tendencies, 'the writer declared'."

The article set out the United States would have to deal for many years with Russia "as a rival not a partner". It also outlined the view that if the Soviet Union could be held in check for a decade or more, the result might be either a "mellowing" attitude or a breakdown of Russian power.

A news clipping dated November 12, 1952 indicated that GEORGE F. KENNAN, formerly of Princeton, New Jersey, was declared persona non grata as United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union for likening present Russian restrictions and diplomats to those in Nazi Germany in 1941 and had returned home to the United States for consultations with Secretary of State DEAN ACHESON.

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office <b>ANCHORAGE</b>	Office of Origin <b>BUREAU</b>	Date <b>2/7/61</b>	Investigative Period <b>2/7/61</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>GEORGE FROST KENNAN</b>		Report made by SA <span style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 150px; height: 1.2em; vertical-align: middle;"></span>	b6 b7C
		Typed By: <b>bpq</b>	
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>SPECIAL INQUIRY</b>	

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## REFERENCE

Newark radiogram to Anchorage 2/7/61. (Interoffice)

Anchorage radiogram to the Bureau 2/7/61.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4 BJA/DFW  
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Approved  <i>[Signature]</i>	Special Agent In Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
Copies made:  1 - Bureau (AM)  1 - Anchorage (161-2)		<b>161-281-12</b>	
		<b>NOT RECORDED</b>	
		<b>FEB 10 1961</b>	

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED]  
Date: FEBRUARY 7, 1961

Office: ANCHORAGE

Field Office File No.: AN 161-2

Bureau File No.:

Title: GEORGE FROST KENNAN

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-16-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

## Synopsis:

[REDACTED] resides  
Juneau, Alaska. Credit records satisfactory. Criminal  
records negative.

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DETAILS: AT JUNEAU, ALASKA

On February 7, 1961, the following investigation  
was conducted at Juneau, Alaska, by SA [REDACTED]:

Mr. ROY HEDMAN, Deputy United States Marshal,  
Juneau, advised [REDACTED] sister of  
[REDACTED], resides at [REDACTED], and  
[REDACTED] is employed as [REDACTED].  
[REDACTED] He also  
advised that [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED].

[REDACTED] advised he could locate no record in  
his files identifiable with [REDACTED].

[REDACTED] Manager, Alaska Credit Bureau  
of Juneau, advised [REDACTED] have a current and  
satisfactory credit record in the Juneau area. He stated  
his files contain nothing of an unfavorable nature concerning  
them.

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Sergeant [REDACTED], Alaska State Police,  
and Chief of Police [REDACTED], Juneau Police  
Department, advised they could locate no record in their  
files identifiable with [REDACTED].

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 7 1961

*ph*  
TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

*MAP*  
*ms. [unclear]*  
*7/2*

URGENT

2-7-61

3-15 PM

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, BUFFALO 161-22 1 PAGE

GEORGE FROST KENNAN, SPI. RE NEWARK TEL FEB SEVEN, LAST. WHO-S WHO  
REFLECTS APPOINTEE A GEORGE EASTMAN VISITING PROFESSOR AT OXFORD  
UNIVERSITY. [REDACTED], DIRECTOR, EASTMAN SCHOOL OF MUSIC,  
ROCHESTER, ADVISED TODAY THE LATE GEORGE EASTMAN CONTRIBUTED FINANCIALLY  
TO OXFORD UNIVERSITY WHEREBY OXFORD WOULD SET UP A PROGRAM ADMINISTERED  
BY OXFORD INVITING VARIOUS DISTINGUISHED EDUCATORS FROM THE U.S. AS  
VISITING PROFESSORS. NO RECORDS MAINTAINED BY EASTMAN SCHOOL OF MUSIC.  
NO OTHER LEADS BUFFALO DIVISION. NO REPORT BEING SUBMITTED. UCAB.  
END AND ACK.

*me*

3-21 PM OK FBI WA JSA

0

*1 cc destroyed  
Jm d/b/ [unclear] 2/10/61*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4 BJA/DAW

11410933

161-281-13  
MAY 23 1961  
*6. [unclear]*

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

*du* FEB 7 1961

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
# 410933

*pe*

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. H. S. Galt	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

URGENT 2-7-61 3-18 PM JLW

TO DIRECTOR 13

FROM SAC NEW YORK 161-162 1P

GEORGE FROST KENNAN, SPI. RE NKTTEL TO DIRECTOR TWO SEVEN SIXTYONE.  
ON TWO SEVEN SIXTYONE, [REDACTED], TREASURER, NEW SCHOOL FOR  
SOCIAL RESEARCH, NYC, ADVISED APPOINTEE RECEIVED THE HONORARY DEGREE  
OF DOCTOR OF LAWS IN NINETEEN FIFTYFIVE. HE ADDED THAT THE APPOINTEE,  
AT THAT TIME, WAS ASSOCIATED AT THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES,  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY. HE ADDED THAT THE APPOINTEE DID NOT RESIDE  
IN NYC AT THAT TIME. HE COULD SUGGEST NO ONE WHO WOULD BE PERSONALLY  
ACQUAINTED WITH THE APPOINTEE. REPORT FOLLOWS.

HOLD

*ice destroyed  
Jude/epd 5/19/61*

161-281-14  
FEB 23 1961  
6-*Jude*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4 BJA/DRW

#410933

RECEIVED  
FEB 7 1961  
FBI - INDIANAPOLIS

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

URGENT 2-7-61 4-12 PM EST MLM

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, INDIANAPOLIS /161-25/ 2P

GEORGE FROST KENNAN, SPI. RE NEWARK TELETYPE FEBRUARY SEVEN, SIXTYONE. THE FOLLOWING INVESTIGATION WAS CONDUCTED BY SA

[REDACTED] AT SOUTH BEND, INDIANA, FEBRUARY SEVEN, SIXTYONE. REV. THEODORE M. HESBURGH, PRESIDENT, NOTRE DAME UNIVERSITY, SOUTH BEND, ADVISED THAT APPOINTEE RECEIVED HONORARY DEGREE, NOTRE DAME UNIVERSITY, SOUTH BEND, MAY FIFTEEN, FIFTY-THREE, AT SPECIAL CONVOCATION DEDICATING NEW LIBERAL ARTS BUILDING ON NOTRE DAME CAMPUS. REV. HESBURGH STATES HE HAS KNOWN APPOINTEE SINCE FIFTYTWO AND SPONSORED HIM FOR THE HONORARY DEGREE. HE HAS MET APPOINTEE ONLY ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, HOWEVER, BELIVES HIM TO BE OF GOOD MORAL CHARACTER AND REPUTATION, MAINTAINS GOOD ASSOCIATES, AND A LOYAL AMERICAN FROM HIM KNOWLEDGE AND OBSERVATION. WOULD RECOMMEND. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], CLERK, CREDIT BUREAU OF SOUTH BEND, NATIONAL BANK BUILDING, SOUTH BEND, [REDACTED], CLERK, RECORDS

END PAGE ONE

1 cc destroyed  
Jude/epd 5/19/61

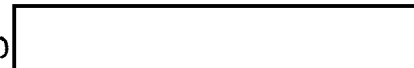
NOT RECORDED

11 MAY 23 1961

b6  
b7C

O-23 TWO

SECTION , SOUTH BEND POLICE DEPARTMENT , AND



b6  
b7C

*C*LERK, RECORDS SECTION, SHERIFF-S OFFICE, ST . JOSEPH COUNTY,  
SOUTH BEND, ADVISED THEY HAD NO RECORD ON APPOINTEE. REPORT  
FOLLOWS.

~~CORR PAGE TWO LINE TWO FIRST WORD SHLD BE CLERK~~

END ACK PLS

<sup>7</sup>  
~~4-18-06~~ 4-15 PM OK FBI WA JDS

TU DISC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 9 1961

TELETYPE

URGENT 2-7-61 1-07 AM EST AM DGK

TO DIRECTOR AND SAC- S ALBANY, BOSTON, BUFFALO, CHICAGO, CINCINNATI  
DETROIT, INDIANAPOLIS, MILWAUKEE, NEW HAVEN,  
NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, SAN ANTONIO, SAN FRANCISCO  
NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM SAC, NEWARK 161-49

GEORGE FROST KENNAN, SPI. RE WFO TEL TO DIRECTOR, FEBRUARY  
THREE LAST. STATE DEPARTMENT HAS REQUESTED INVESTIGATION OF  
KENNAN WHO IS BEING CONSIDERED FOR PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT  
IN THAT DEPARTMENT. BORN FEBRUARY SIXTEEN NINETEEN FOUR,  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, AND PRESENTLY RESIDES PRINCETON, N.J.  
WHERE HE IS A PROFESSOR AT THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY,  
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY. RECORDS OF INSTITUTE REFLECT [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4BJA/afw

#410933

NOT RECORDED

161-281-16

END PAGE ONE

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index/epc 15/09/61

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PAGE TWO

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[REDACTED]. FOLLOWING EMPLOYMENTS LISTED AS CHARLES R. WALGREEN FOUNDATION, LECTURER, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, NINETEENFIFTY ONE, LECTURER AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY, MARCH AND APRIL, NINETEEN SIXTY, YALE UNIVERSITY AS CONDUCTOR OF SEMINAR ON HISTORY OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY OCTOBER, NINETEEN SIXTY TO JANUARY, NINETEEN SIXTY ONE. RESIDENCE LISTED AS EAST BERLIN, ADAMS COUNTY, PA. NINETEEN FOURTY TWO TO NINETEEN FIFTY FOUR. PARENTS LISTED AS DECEASED AND MOTHER-S NAME GIVEN AS FLORENCE KENNAN. ALL OFFICES CONDUCT THOROUGH INVESTIGATION COVERING ENTIRE ADULT LIFE. COMPLETE NAMES AND ADRESSES OF ALL IMMEDIATE RELATIVES SHOULD BE ASCERTAINED BY ACTIVE INVESTIGATION AND APPROPRIATE

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

CHECKS MADE CONCERNING EACH, ATTEMPT TO ASCERTAIN NAME OF  
FATHER, VERIFY DEATH OF PARENTS. ASSIGN IMMEDIATELY, AFFORD  
CONTINUOUS ATTENTION, SET OUT ALL  
LEADS BY TELETYPE, ASSIGN SUFFICIENT PERSONNEL TO ASSURE THAT  
BUREAU DEADLINE OF FEBRUARY SEVEN, SIXTY ONE IS MET WITHOUT FAIL.  
ANCHORAGE ADVISED SEPARATELY. ALL OTHER OFFICES IN TITLE TO BE  
ADVISED.

END AND ACK PLS

WA 1-18 AM OK FBI WA ELR R RELAY

AL OK FBI AL TQC

BU OK FBI BU JY

PH OK PH FBI JHW AGAIN PH OK FBI PH JHW

TU DISC V

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 7 1961

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

URGENT 2-7-61 1-52 PM FLH

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, ALBANY /161-53

GEORGE FROST KENNAN, SPI. RE NEWARK TEL, FEB. SEVEN INSTANT.  
REGISTRAR, COLGATE UNIVERSITY, HAMILTON, NY, REPORTED APPOINTEE  
RECEIVED HONORARY DOCTOR OF CIVIL LAW DEGREE JUNE ELEVEN,  
NINETEEN FIFTYONE. [REDACTED] VERIFIED PRESENT

RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED],

[REDACTED], AS [REDACTED], [REDACTED],

ROME, NY. RECORDS OF ROME, NY PD NEGATIVE, FILES OF CREDIT  
BUREAU OF ROME FAVORABLE RE [REDACTED]. REPORT FOLLOWS. P.

END

1-54 PM OK FBI WA JS

DIST

*1cc destroyed  
Jmd/B/epd 5/19/61*

*161-281-17*

NOT RECORDED

11 MAY 23 1961

*6-Index*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE *2-8-99* BY *SP4 BJA/DFW*

II 410933

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

URGENT 2-7-61 10-42 PM DFS

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, CHICAGO 161-

GEORGE FROST KENNAN, SPI. RE NEWARK TELETYPE TO BUREAU TWO SEVEN  
SIXTY ONE. [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]

IN FILES OF CREDITMENS ASSOCIATION, HIGHLAND PARK, ILL. SINCE NINETEEN  
TWENTY EIGHT AND HAVE RESIDED AT [REDACTED]

SINCE THAT TIME. EXCELLENT CREDIT RECORD. SINCE ONE FORTY NINE [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

CHICAGO. NO ARREST RECORD HIGHLAND PARK PD OR LAKE COUNTY SHERIFF-S  
OFFICE FOR APPOINTEE-S RELATIVES. KENNAN AWARDED HONORARY DEGREE OF LLD  
ON SIX SEVENTEEN FIFTY EIGHT BY NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY EVANSTON, ILL.  
FOR HIS OUTSTANDING CAREER WITH AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE AND CAREER  
ASSIGNMENT TO AMERICAN EMBASSY IN SOVIET UNION., ALSO FOR HIS NOTABLE  
ADMINISTRATIVE ABILITY WITH DEPT. OF STATE AND HIS OUTSTANDING RESEARCH  
OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. NO RECORD FOUND VERIFYING EMPLOYMENT AS  
LECTURER UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO. NO CREDIT OR ARREST CHICAGO, ILL. REPORT  
TO FOLLOW.

END ACK PLS

WA 11-45 PM OK FBI WQ JHQSSSS WA JHA

TU DISC

161-281-18  
NOT RECORDED

11 MAY 23 1961

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

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410933



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 7 1961

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 8-3-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

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Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

URGENT

W

2-7-61

5-25

PM EST SCA

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, PHILADELPHIA /161-58/

GEORGE FROST KENNAN, S<sup>1</sup>. RE NK TEL TO BUREAU AND PHILA TWO  
SEVEN SIXTYONE. INVESTIGATION EAST BERLIN, PA. FAVORABLE.  
CREDIT AND ARREST NEGATIVE. PHILADELPHIA FILES REFLECT IN  
OCTOBER NINETEEN FIFTY ONE A MENTAL PATIENT REPORTEDLY  
ALLEGED KENNAN INVOLVED IN SOVIET ~~XXXXXX~~ ESPIONAGE BUT  
WHEN INTERVIEWED BY FBI AGENT TEN TWENTYSEVEN FIFTYONE COULD  
FURNISH NO INFORMATION TO SUBSTANTIATE ALLEGATION, PATIENT  
ON THREE TWELVE FIFTYTWO, AFTER RELEASE FROM MENTAL INSTITUTION  
APPEARED AT PHILADELPHIA OFFICE AND STATED ALLEGATIONS SHE MADE  
DURING PERIOD OF MENTAL ILLNESS HAD NO FACTUAL FOUNDATION.  
SEE BUREAU FILE SIXTYFIVE DASH SIX ZERO FIVE ONE TWO. REPORT FOLLOWS  
END AND ACK PLS

WA 5-27 PM OK F BI WA RAM

TU DES

161-281-19  
NOT RECORDED

11 MAY 23 1961

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Index/epd 5/19/61

6-jm

*Mr. Tolson*  
*1/24/61*  
*JB*

**DECODED COPY**

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

☒ **Radio**

☐ **Teletype**

*AP*  
 URGENT 2-7-61

TO DIRECTOR

FROM SAC ANCHORAGE 072310

GEORGE FROST KENNAN. SPI. RE NEWARK RADIOGRAM TO ANCHORAGE  
 FEBRUARY 7 INSTANT. CREDIT RECORDS CONCERNING [REDACTED]  
 APPOINTEE, [REDACTED], SATISFACTORY. RESIDENCE [REDACTED]  
 VERIFIED. CRIMINAL RECORDS NEGATIVE. REPORT FOLLOWS.

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 b7C

RECEIVED:

7:12 PM RADIO

7:55 PM CODING UNIT CTF

*1cc destroyed  
 JWD/epd 5/19/61*

*me*

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DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

#410933

*161-281-20*

NOT RECORDED

11 MAY 23 1961

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*6-0*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

# 410933

URGENT 2-7-61

3-34 PM PST

MPD

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, SAN FRANCISCO /161-75/ 1P

GEORGE FROST KENNAN, SPI. RE NEWARK TELETYPE DATED FEBRUARY SEVEN, SIXTYONE. RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED], SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA, VERIFIED. NO RECORD SACRAMENTO PD OR SACRAMENTO COUNTY SHERIFF-S OFFICE. FAVORABLE CREDIT RECORD.

REPORT FOLLOWS.

END AND ACK PLS.

6-36 PM OK FBI WA MSL

TU DISC PLS 1cc destroyed  
Judeb/epd 5/19/61

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Mr. Yeargan  
4742

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161-281-21

NOT RECORDED

11 MAY 23 1961

6-1-61

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 3 1961

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Malone\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Evans\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ingram\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

URGENT 2-8-61 QPATQ PM EST JJC

TO DIRECTOR FBI

FROM SAC BOSTON 161-133 1 P

GEORGE FROST KENNAN, SPI. RE NEWARK TEL TO BUREAU FEBRUARY

SEVEN ONE NINE SIX ONE. HARVARD RECORDS SHOW

APPOINTEE WAS INSTRUCTOR IN HISTORY, MARCH TWENTY ONE TO

MAY FIVE NINETEEN SIXTY. RECORD WAS ENTIRELY SATISFACTORY.

RESIDENCE OF [REDACTED], AT

[REDACTED] MASS., VERIFIED. CREDIT

CHECK ON APPOINTEE AND [REDACTED] WERE NEGATIVE. ARREST CHECK

ON ONE [REDACTED], BORN [REDACTED],

[REDACTED], PARENTS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

APPEARED IN DISTRICT COURT, [REDACTED], MASS., [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], CHARGED WITH VIOLATING TRAFFIC SIGNAL.

SHE PAID FIVE DOLLAR FINE. RUC REPORT FOLLOWS.

END AND HOLD PLS

10-52 PM OK FBI WA BH

UFOB

*1 cc destroyed  
Jordis/epd 2/19/61*

*161-281-22*  
NOT RECORDED  
11 MAY 23 1961

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
410933

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office <b>CINCINNATI</b>	Office of Origin <b>BUREAU</b>	Date <b>2/8/61</b>	Investigative Period <b>2/7/61</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>GEORGE FROST KENNAN</b>		Report made by <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 15px;"></div>	b6 b7C Typed By: <b>jms</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>SPECIAL INQUIRY</b>	

Synopsis:

REFERENCE: Newark teletype to Cincinnati 2/7/61.

- RUC -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
410933

Approved <i>[Signature]</i>	Special Agent In Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
Copies made: <i>[Signature]</i> 1 - Bureau (AMSD) 1 - Cincinnati (161-33)		<b>161-281-23</b>	
		NOT RECORDED FEB 10 1961	

- A\* -  
Cover Page

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

## Copy to:

Report of:

Date:

2/8/61

Office:

CINCINNATI

File Number:

CI 161-33

Title:

GEORGE FROST KENNAN

Character:

SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis:

GEORGE FROST KENNAN received a Doctor of Humane Letters, honorary degree, from Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, at their One Hundred Twenty-Seventh Commencement on 1/13/55.

- RUC -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-16-99 BY SP4 BJA/DPW

CI 161-33

DETAILS:

AT GAMBIER, OHIO

On February 7, 1961, [REDACTED], Clerk, Registrar's Office, Kenyon College, advised that her records reflect that GEORGE FROST KENNAN, who received an AB degree from Princeton, LLD degrees from Yale, Dartmouth, Colgate, and Notre Dame, received a Doctor of Humane Letters, honorary degree, from Kenyon College, at their One Hundred Twenty-Seventh Commencement on June 13, 1955.

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b7C

[REDACTED] advised her records contained no other information concerning KENNAN.

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office <b>PHILADELPHIA</b>	Office of Origin <b>BUREAU</b>	Date <b>2/8/61</b>	Investigative Period <b>2/7/61</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>GEORGE FROST KENNAN</b>		Report made by <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 15px; width: 100px;"></div>	Type b6 b7C
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>SPI</b>	

~~SECRET~~

## References

Newark teletype to Bureau and Philadelphia 2/7/61.

Philadelphia teletype to Bureau 2/7/61.

- RUC -

## Administrative Data

Re Philadelphia letter to Bureau dated 11/2/51 captioned " ESPIONAGE - R" (Bufile 65-60512) states that , Pa., reportedly had expressed her suspicions of GEORGE KENNAN, former Russian Affairs Expert in the United States Department of State at Washington, D.C., and had indicated that KENNAN was under the influence of the Russians and was performing espionage activities against the U. S. Government.  was then confined to a private mental institution

Approved <div style="text-align: center;"><i>FAC</i></div>	Special Agent in Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
Copies made:  1 - Bureau  1 - Philadelphia (161-58)		161-281-24	
		NOT RECORDED 3 FEB 10 1961	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
# 410933

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PH 161-58

Administrative Data (Continued)

in Philadelphia, Pa., and was interviewed at the institution by an FBI Agent on 10/27/51. At the time of this interview, she could furnish no information relative to the possible Soviet espionage activities of KENNAN.

Re Philadelphia letter to Bureau dated 3/19/52, captioned "[REDACTED] ESPIONAGE - R; GEORGE KENNAN; ESPIONAGE - R," reflects [REDACTED] appeared at the Philadelphia Office on 3/12/52 after her release from the mental institution and stated that she knew no one in the Government who could be considered an actual or potential security risk and reiterated that the allegations made by her during the period of her mental illness had no foundation in fact.

b6

b7C

- B\* -  
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of:

[REDACTED]  
February 8, 1961

Office: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Date:

Field Office File No.:

161-58

Bureau File No.:

Title:

GEORGE FROST KENNAN

Character:

SPECIAL INQUIRY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-3-99 BY SP4 BJA/DFW  
410933b6  
b7C

Synopsis:

KENNAN owns house and farm, East Berlin, York County, Pa. Persons interviewed state Mr. KENNAN highly regarded in community and has excellent reputation. KENNAN and wife, [REDACTED], stay at farm for varying periods and usually during summer months. Credit and arrest York County, Pa. negative.

- RUC -

Details:

Neighborhood

On February 7, 1961, EUGENE ELGIN, Postmaster, East Berlin, Pa., advised that he had met Mr. GEORGE KENNAN many times and knows him as a resident of East Berlin. ELGIN said that Mr. KENNAN has resided for varying periods at his farm in East Berlin over the years but has spent a great deal of time in the recent past at Princeton, N.J., where Mr. ELGIN believes he teaches at the University there. ELGIN said that he as well as other persons in the community feels that East Berlin is fortunate in having a man of Mr. KENNAN's ability and reputation as even a part-time resident. He said there is no question in his mind as to KENNAN's loyalty to our form of government.

PH 161-58

On February 7, 1961, [redacted], Cashier, East Berlin National Bank, East Berlin, Pa. (York County), advised that Mr. GEORGE F. KENNAN maintains a home and farm at East Berlin. [redacted] said that he has had many contacts with Mr. KENNAN since he came to East Berlin sometime in the early 1940s, and he considers him an outstanding American for whom he has the highest regard. [redacted] states that Mr. KENNAN has lived at his residence at East Berlin for varying periods over the years, usually staying there during the summer months, however, because of his numerous interests and activities, frequently travels and has spent a great deal of time during the past several years at Princeton, N.J.

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[redacted] said that he was also acquainted with [redacted], the wife of GEORGE F. KENNAN and that both she and her husband are well regarded in the community of East Berlin, Pa. [redacted] said that he considers both Mr. and Mrs. KENNAN to be loyal Americans.

On February 7, 1961, [redacted], York, Pa., correspondent for Harrisburg, Pa. "Patriot News," advised that he has on several occasions interviewed Mr. GEORGE F. KENNAN during the period that the latter has resided in York County. [redacted] said that KENNAN is well known in the community of East Berlin and bears an excellent reputation among the residents there. [redacted] stated that during his interviews with KENNAN which concerned the latter's experiences abroad in the Diplomatic Service, he was impressed with his knowledge and ability and that there is no question in his, [redacted], mind but that KENNAN is devoted and loyal to our form of government.

#### Credit and Arrest

On February 7, 1961, Sergeant [redacted], Commanding Officer, Pennsylvania State Police, Gettysburg, Pa., Barracks, advised there is no information contained in the files of that organization concerning GEORGE F. or [redacted] KENNAN.

PH 161-58

On February 7, 1961, Sergeant DAVID K. JAMES, Commanding Officer, Pennsylvania State Police, York Barracks, advised his files are negative with respect to GEORGE F. or [REDACTED] KENNAN. Sergeant JAMES stated that he knows Mr. KENNAN by reputation and that from various sources he has heard that this individual is an outstanding citizen and is highly regarded in East Berlin where he maintains a home.

[REDACTED] Credit Bureau of York, Pa., advised there is no information in the Credit Bureau files concerning GEORGE F. or [REDACTED] KENNAN.

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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office <b>CHICAGO</b>	Office of Origin <b>BUREAU</b>	Date <b>2/8/61</b>	Investigative Period <b>2/7/61</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>GEORGE FROST KENNAN</b>		Report made by <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 15px;"></div>	b6 b7C
		Typed By: <b>mkp</b>	
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>SPI</b>	

~~XXXXXX~~

REFERENCES: Newark teletype to Director dated 2/7/61.  
Chicago teletype to Director dated 2/7/61.

- RUC -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

0410933

Approved <i>[Signature]</i>	Special Agent In Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
Copies made:  ① - Bureau (AM)  1 - Chicago (161-137)		161-281-25	
		NOT RECORDED	
		5 FEB 10 1961	
		<i>[Signature]</i>	

- A\* -

COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of:  
Date:SA [REDACTED]  
February 8, 1961

Office: Chicago

b6  
b7c

Field Office File No.: 161-137

Bureau File No.:

Title: GEORGE FROST KENNAN

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis: Appointee awarded honorary degree of LL.B. in 1957 by Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. No record of appointee as lecturer at University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Credit record of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED], Highland Park, Illinois, satisfactory. No arrest record Highland Park PD. No credit or arrest record for appointee Chicago, Illinois.

- RUC -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-3-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

410933

CG 161-137

**DETAILS:**

**Education**

**Northwestern University  
Evanston, Illinois**

On February 7, 1961, Mrs. CATHERINE MILLER, Supervisor, Central Records Office, Northwestern University, advised SA [ ] that at the commencement program of June 17, 1957, the appointee was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Law due to the appointee's outstanding career with the American Foreign Service; his career assignment to the American Embassy in the Soviet Union; his notable administrative ability with the United States Department of State and for outstanding research of American Foreign Policy.

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**Employment**

**University of Chicago  
5801 South Ellis Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois**

On February 7, 1961, [ ], Receptionist, Chancellor's Office, University of Chicago, advised SA [ ] that she is unable to locate any record of the appointee as a lecturer at the University of Chicago.

[ ], Assistant to the Dean, University College, Downtown Branch, University of Chicago, 64 East Lake Street, Chicago, Illinois, advised SA [ ], on February 7, 1961, that she does not have a record of the appointee as a lecturer.

**Relatives**

On February 7, 1961, [ ], Creditmen's Association, Highland Park, Illinois, advised SA [ ] that [ ] and [ ] have been known in the files of this agency since

CG 161-137

1928 and have resided at [redacted], Highland Park, Illinois, since that time. These records show that since January, 1949, [redacted] has been a partner of [redacted], Chicago, Illinois. [redacted] advised that [redacted] and [redacted] have excellent credit ratings.

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On February 7, 1961, Chief of Police ANTHONY SCHMIG, Highland Park, Illinois Police Department, advised SA [redacted] he does not have an arrest record on [redacted] or [redacted].

Sheriff NORRIS FROELICH, Lake County Sheriff's Office, Waukegan, Illinois, advised SA [redacted] he does not have a record identifiable with [redacted].

The arrest records of the Bureau of Records and Communications, Chicago, Illinois Police Department were reviewed on February 7, 1961, by IC [redacted] and no record was located identifiable with the appointee.

[redacted], Clerk, Chicago Credit Bureau, Incorporated, Chicago, Illinois, advised IC [redacted] on February 7, 1961, that she does not have a record identifiable with the appointee.



# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION



Reporting Office Boston	Office of Origin Bureau	Date 2-9-61	Investigative Period 2/8/61
TITLE OF CASE  GEORGE FROST KENNAN		Report made by <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 15px;"></div>	b6 b7C
		Typed By: lc	
		CHARACTER OF CASE  SPECIAL INQUIRY	

Synopsis:

REFERENCE: Newark teletype to Bureau dated 2/7/61.  
Bstel to Bureau dated 2/8/61.

- RUC -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
# 410933

Approved 	Special Agent In Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
Copies made:  1 - Bureau  1 - Boston (161-133)		161- 281- 26	
		NOT RECORDED	
		12 FEB 13 1961	
			

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

## Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED]

Date: 2/9/61

Office: Boston, Massachusetts

b6  
b7C

Field Office File No.: 161-133

Bureau File No.:

Title: GEORGE FROST KENNAN

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-3-99 BY SP4BJA/DW

# 410933

Synopsis: Appointee's employment at Harvard University verified and found favorable. Credit and arrest checks on appointee and his daughter were negative.

- RUC -

## DETAILS:

Credit and arrest checks at Boston, Massachusetts were made at the request of Investigative Clerk [REDACTED]. Investigation at Medford, Massachusetts was conducted by SA [REDACTED].

EMPLOYMENT

On February 8, 1961, [REDACTED], Administrative Assistant, Corporation Office, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, advised the records showed the appointee held a position on the faculty as Visiting Lecturer in History from March 21, 1960 to May 5, 1960. She said the records showed the appointee was born on February 16, 1904 and that his permanent position was that of Professor at the Institute For Advanced Study, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. She said his employment record at Harvard University was entirely favorable. She said his residence address was shown as Princeton, New Jersey.

RELATIVES

[REDACTED], [REDACTED], Massachusetts on February 8, 1961 advised that [REDACTED] live on the second floor at this address. She has known them about six months and has found

BS 161-133

them to be excellent neighbors and above reproach in matters involving character, reputation and loyalty.

[redacted] Secretary, Gordon Laundry, 80 Bow St., Medford, Massachusetts, advised on February 8, 1961 that she knows [redacted] to reside on the second floor of [redacted], Massachusetts. They are good neighbors and she knew of no reason to doubt their loyalty and would recommend both [redacted] for any position of trust and confidence.

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#### CREDIT

On February 8, 1961, personnel of the Credit Bureau of Greater Boston, Inc., 11 Beacon St., Boston, Massachusetts, advised the records contained no pertinent information concerning GEORGE FROST KENNAN or [redacted] also known as [redacted]. This agency covers [redacted], Massachusetts.

#### ARREST

On February 8, 1961, personnel of the Office of the Massachusetts Commissioner of Probation, Suffolk County Courthouse, Boston, Massachusetts, a central repository for all criminal conviction records in the Commonwealth, advised the records contained no information concerning GEORGE FROST KENNAN or [redacted] also known as [redacted].

On February 8, 1961 the same personnel advised that the records showed one [redacted] resident at [redacted] Massachusetts, born [redacted] at New York, New York, parents [redacted] and [redacted], appeared in District Court, [redacted] Massachusetts on [redacted] charged with violating a traffic signal. He paid a five dollar fine.

On February 8, 1961, [redacted] Clerk, Cambridge, Massachusetts Police Department, advised the records contained no information concerning GEORGE FROST KENNAN.

On February 8, 1961, [redacted] Clerk, Records Bureau, Police Department, [redacted] Massachusetts, advised the records contained no reference to [redacted] also known as [redacted].

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office <b>ALBANY</b>	Office of Origin <b>BUREAU</b>	Date <b>2/9/61</b>	Investigative Period <b>2/7/61</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>GEORGE FROST KENNAN</b>		Report made by <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 15px;"></div>	Typed By: <b>PAB</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>SPI</b>	

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED


HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4 BJA/DFW

II 410933

REFERENCE: Newark teletype dated 2/7/61.  
Albany teletype to Director, 2/7/61.

R U C

Approved 	Special Agent In Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
Copies made:  1 - Bureau  1 - Albany (161-53)		161-281-27	
		NOT RECORDED 3 FEB 13 1961	

- A\* -  
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED]  
Date: 2/9/61

Office: ALBANY, NEW YORK

b6  
b7C

Field Office File No.: 161-53

Bureau File No.:

Title: GEORGE FROST KENNAN

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-3-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

410933

Synopsis:

Registrar, Colgate University, Hamilton, NY, reported appointee received honorary Doctor of Civil Law Degree 6/11/51. Neighbor, [REDACTED], verified present residence of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED], [REDACTED] and [REDACTED], as [REDACTED], Rome, NY. Records of Rome, NY PD negative; files of Credit Bureau of Rome favorable regarding [REDACTED].

R U C

DETAILS:

AT HAMILTON, NEW YORK

On February 7, 1961, Dr. WILLIAM EVERTS, Registrar, Colgate University, advised that according to his office records, GEORGE FROST KENNAN received an honorary Doctor of Civil Law Degree at this University on June 11, 1951. He continued that KENNAN had not been a previous student at this school but had been awarded the honorary degree because of outstanding achievements in his field.

AL 161-53

AT ROME, NEW YORK

On February 7, 1961, [REDACTED], [REDACTED],  
[REDACTED], advised that [REDACTED] and  
[REDACTED], [REDACTED] and [REDACTED], are presently  
residing nearby on [REDACTED], Rome, New York.

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On February 7, 1961, Sergeant EDWIN F. O'BRIEN,  
Records Section, Rome, New York Police Department, reported  
that his office files failed to reflect any reference concerning  
[REDACTED] or [REDACTED], [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED].

On February 7, 1961, [REDACTED],  
Proprietor, Credit Bureau of Rome, advised that her office  
files concerning [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] reflect that  
these individuals have resided in the Rome, New York area  
since [REDACTED], and are presently residing on [REDACTED],  
Rome, New York. These records, according to [REDACTED],  
are favorable and reflect [REDACTED] 1952 employment as a  
salesman. She stated that no further information concerning  
employment is reflected in these files.

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office <b>MILWAUKEE</b>	Office of Origin <b>BUREAU</b>	Date <b>2/9/61</b>	Investigative Period <b>2/7 &amp; 8/61</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>GEORGE FROST KENNAN</b>		Report made by SA <span style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 150px; height: 1.2em; vertical-align: middle;"></span>	Typed By: <b>bs</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>SPI</b>	

~~SECRET~~

## REFERENCE

St. Louis teletype to Director dated 2/6/61;  
Newark teletype to Director dated 2/7/61.

-RUC-

## INFORMANTS

The informants who could furnish no information relative to the appointee are as follows:

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<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 80px;"></div>	contacted on 2/8/61 by SA	<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 250px; height: 80px;"></div>
	contacted on 2/7/61 by SA	
	contacted on 2/8/61 by SA	

*m*

Approved <i>[Signature]</i>	Special Agent In Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
Copies made: 1 Bureau (RM)(RM) 1 Milwaukee (161-25)		161-281-28	
		NOT RECORDED 9 FEB 13 1961	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
#410933

COVER PAGE

MI 161-25

ADMINISTRATIVE

The files of the Milwaukee Office reflect report of [REDACTED] dated 7/14/45 and captioned Russian Funds, Miscellaneous Information Concerning, shows on page 13 that one GEORGE F. KENNAN, not further identified, was listed as the payee on a draft dated April 27, 1945, charged against the account of the Bank for Foreign Trade, USSR Moscow. This draft was in the amount of \$20 and showed the endorsement of the First Wisconsin National Bank, Milwaukee. This information was furnished by [REDACTED] who was then [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] The report further reflected this was an analysis of withdrawals from Russian accounts of the [REDACTED] from April 7 through May 4, 1945, wherein numerous persons and companies were listed.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

## Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED]  
Date: February 9, 1961

Office: Milwaukee

Field Office File No.: MI 161-25

Bureau File No.:

b6  
b7c

Title: GEORGE FROST KENNAN

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-16-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

## Synopsis:

Birth records reflect GEORGE FROST KENNAN was born on 2/16/04 at Milwaukee, Wisconsin. School records reflect he graduated from St. John's Military Academy, Delafield, Wisconsin, in June, 1921, having maintained high grades and a good record. Arrest records, Milwaukee PD and Waukesha County SO and credit records, Milwaukee Credit Bureau, contain no information relative to GEORGE FROST KENNAN, his wife, parents, brothers, sisters or children. An article in "The Milwaukee Journal" dated 9/13/54 reflects CHARLES KERSTEN, representative from Milwaukee, in a speech charged GEORGE KENNAN with advocating 'pro-communist policies.' On 2/8/61 CHARLES J. KERSTEN advised he does not believe GEORGE KENNAN is or was a communist but believed KENNAN was naive politically regarding Communism and had advocated pro-communist policies. KERSTEN stated that the foregoing was merely his belief or opinion.

-RUC-

DETAILS:

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [REDACTED] except as otherwise noted.

MI 161-25

#### BIRTH

On February 8, 1961, birth records, Register of Deeds Office, Milwaukee County Courthouse, were examined by Special Agent [ ] and reflected the following information:

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GEORGE FROST KENNAN was born on February 16, 1904, as the son of KOSSUTH KENT KENNAN (father) and FLORENCE KENNAN, nee JAMES, (mother). The father's birth place was indicated as Oshkosh, Wisconsin, and the mother's place of birth was indicated as Chicago, Illinois. Siblings were listed as [ ]

#### EDUCATION

On February 7, 1961, [ ] Secretary, St. John's Military Academy, Delafield, Wisconsin, advised Special Agent [ ] as follows:

GEORGE FROST KENNAN, born February 16, 1904, entered St. John's Military Academy in September, 1917, and was graduated in June, 1921, having maintained high grades and having had a good record. [ ] added that there was absolutely no derogatory information in KENNAN's records at St. John's Military Academy and that he had been a better than average student.

#### ARREST RECORDS

On February 7, 1961, [ ] Clerk, Bureau of Identification, Milwaukee Police Department, advised Special Agent [ ] that the records of the Milwaukee Police Department contained no information relative to or identifiable with GEORGE FROST KENNAN, his wife, parents, brothers, sisters or children.

On February 7, 1961, Sheriff HAROLD WOLFE, Waukesha County Sheriff's Office, advised Special Agent [ ] [ ] that the records of that office contain no information relative to or identifiable with GEORGE FROST KENNAN, his wife, parents, brothers, sisters or children.

MI 161-25

The Waukesha County Sheriff's Office covers Delafield, Wisconsin, and the Delafield, Wisconsin, area.

CREDIT

On February 7, 1961, [redacted], Clerk, Milwaukee Credit Bureau, 611 North Broadway, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, advised Special Agent [redacted] that the records of that Credit Bureau contain no information relative to or identifiable with GEORGE FROST KENNAN, his wife, parents, brothers, sisters or children.

MISCELLANEOUS

The records of "The Milwaukee Journal" newspaper library were examined on February 7, 1961, by Special Agent [redacted] and reflected the following information:

The September 13, 1954, issue of "The Milwaukee Journal" contains an article captioned "Kennan Role Is Denounced." This article reflected that Representative CHARLES J. KERSTEN of Milwaukee had charged GEORGE KENNAN with advocating 'pro-communist policies' in a speech the preceeding Sunday in Milwaukee. This article further reflected KERSTEN stated he considered KENNAN's policies as 'pro-communist' because KENNAN insists that foreign affairs should be conducted on 'practical' rather than on 'moral' grounds and because KENNAN maintained 'We should be very careful not to antagonize Communist leaders even by "words".' KERSTEN, the article also related, attacked KENNAN for advocating that the free world should simply hold the lines against further Soviet expansion rather than undertake a policy of 'liberation.'

"The Milwaukee Journal" of September 18, 1954, carries an article captioned "Reuss Defends George F. Kennan." This article reflects the following information: HENRY S. REUSS (currently a United States Congressman from Wisconsin) defended American diplomat GEORGE F. KENNAN, who had been attacked by Representative CHARLES J. KERSTEN. REUSS

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MI 161-25

charged in this article that KERSTEN was waging a campaign 'based on hatred, suspicion and distrust.' REUSS added also that 'Kennan is a clean loyal American who is a member of Milwaukee's oldest and finest families.'

"The Milwaukee Journal" of June 4, 1960, in an article captioned "Kennan Says Danger of War Hasn't Risen" describes GEORGE F. KENNAN as one of the country's foremost experts on the cold war who was former ambassador to Russia and a veteran State Department diplomat. This article relates also that he in 'borrowing a phrase from Theodore Roosevelt' said that the best principle of international relations was to 'speak softly and carry a big stick.'

The article also reflected that KENNAN did not think danger of all-out war had increased since the collapse of the Paris Summit Conference.

The article also noted that KENNAN was in Wisconsin in connection with the 75th anniversary of St. John's Military Academy, Delafield, Wisconsin, from which he graduated in 1921.

On February 8, 1961, CHARLES J. KERSTEN advised as follows:

He does not believe GEORGE KENNAN is or was a Communist but believed that KENNAN was naive politically regarding Communism and had advocated pro-communist policies. KERSTEN stated that he believed KENNAN had been weak in his attitude towards Russia and that KENNAN's policy of "containment" did not go far enough. He, KERSTEN, disagreed with this policy and believed that more affirmative efforts should be taken to liberate Communist captive countries.

KERSTEN concluded that the foregoing information regarding GEORGE KENNAN was merely his opinion and belief based upon his, KERSTEN's, having followed KENNAN's career for many years. KERSTEN stated that he had no specific or concrete documentations for any of his above expressed opinions.

MI 161-25

KERSTEN also added that he, KERSTEN, was an admirer of and had been a co-worker with the late Senator JOSEPH MC CARTHY from Wisconsin and that KENNAN had been in open disagreement with both former Senator MC CARTHY and himself.

INFORMANTS

Informants who are familiar with various phases of Communist Party activity in the Wisconsin area were contacted during February, 1961, but could furnish no information relative to GEORGE FROST KENNAN.

The Communist Party, USA, has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

161-25

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Milwaukee, Wisconsin  
February 9, 1961

Title GEORGE FROST KENNAN

Character SPECIAL INQUIRY

Reference Report of SA [REDACTED]  
dated and captioned as above.

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b7c

All sources (except any listed below) used in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-16-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

DDD:bs  
(2)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4 BJA/DAW

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TELETYPE

URGENT

2-9-61

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MOH

TO DIRECTOR FBI

FROM SAC, BOSTON

161-133

2 TELETYPES - HOLD PLS

GEORGE FROST KENNAN, SPI. BEBOSTEL TO BUREAU TWO EIGHT

SIXTY ONE. TRAFFIC ARREST RECORD REPORTED IN RETEL FOR

[REDACTED] WAS IN ERROR INASMUCH AS TRAFFIC

VIOLATION RECORD WAS IN NAME OF [REDACTED]. CREDIT

AND ARREST CHECKS ON APPOINTEE AND [REDACTED] WERE

NEGATIVE AT ALL SOURCES. RUC. REPORT BEING SUBMITTED THIS

DAE.

NOT RECORDED

11 MAY 23 1961

1 cc destroyed  
Indes, cpl 5/19/61

*Mr. Gandy*  
*4742*

*m*

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b7C

*6- Indes*

F B I

Date: 2/10/61

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, SAN ANTONIO (161-19)

GEORGE FROST KENNAN  
SPECIAL INQUIRYALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIEDDATE 2-8-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
410933Re report SA  dated 2/7/61 at  
SA.

Bureau is respectfully requested to make the following correction:

On page 1, paragraph 2 of Details, line 10, instead of "employed as Graduate Counselor", the phrase should read, "serves as Graduate Counselor".

③ - Bureau  
1 - SA  
MBD  
(4)*2 cc destroyed  
Jude 1 epd 5/19/61  
Corrected*161-281-30  
NOT RECORDED  
9 FEB 13 1961  
*ma*Approved:  Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Chargeb6  
b7c



# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office <b>WASHINGTON FIELD</b>	Office of Origin <b>BUREAU</b>	Date <b>2/14/61</b>	Investigative Period <b>2/2-13/61</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>GEORGE FROST KENNAN</b>		Report made by <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 150px;"></div>	Typed By: <b>erc</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>SPI</b>	

## REFERENCE

Bureau teletype, dated 2/1/61

- P -

## LEAD

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

per letter dated 5-23-01 SP4 BJA/DFW  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED 8-20-02  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4 BJA/DFW  
# 410933

Referral/Consult

Will report the results of the Passport Office, U. S. Secret Service and  checks on the appointee when completed.

Approved <i>MW J/mo</i>	Special Agent in Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
Copies made:  ① - Bureau 1 - Washington Field (161-153)		161- 281- 31	
		NOT RECORDED	
		11 MAY 23 1961	

- A\* -

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**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

Copy to:

Report of:

Date:

**2/14/61**

Office:

**Washington, D. C.** b6  
b7CField Office File No.: **161-153**

Bureau File No.:

Title:

**GEORGE FROST KENNAN**

Character:

**SPECIAL INQUIRY**

*per letter dated 5-23-01 SP4 BJA/DFW*  
*8-20-02*  
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 7-16-99 BY SP4 BJA/DFW

Synopsis:

Referral/Consult

Employment Department of State 1926 to 1953 verified. Associates recommend. Appointee and spouse have satisfactory credit rating. No local police department record appointee or spouse. No additional pertinent information CSC, HCUA. OSI negative. No pertinent identifiable information appointee's spouse [redacted]. Summary of pertinent information appearing in "Evening Star" newspaper morgue concerning appointee set out. Appointee testified before the Personnel Security Board Hearing conducted by AEC in the matter of J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER.

- P -

**DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D. C.****EMPLOYMENT**

On February 7, 1961, SA [redacted] reviewed the service record card (Standard Form 7), as maintained at the Office of Personnel, United States Department of State (USDS), pertaining to the appointee, and this card reflects the appointee entered on duty as a foreign service officer for the USDS on September 1, 1926, and was continuously

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employed by the USDS until his retirement on July 29, 1953. This card reflects he has been assigned as Vice Consul and Secretary in the Diplomatic Service, assigned to American Embassies or Legations in Geneva, Switzerland, Hamburg, Germany, Berlin, Germany, Tallinn Estonia, Riga, Latvia, Moscow, Russia, Vienna, Austria, Prague, Czechoslovakia, Lisbon, Portugal, and London, England. It also reflects he was the United States Ambassador to Russia from April 2, 1952, until the occasion of his retirement on July 29, 1953.

<sup>February</sup>  
This service record card also reflects the appointee was born on ~~April~~ 16, 1904, at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and the record contains a notation that the appointee's official personnel file had been forwarded to the Federal Records Center, St. Louis, Missouri, date not shown.

On February 2, 1961, the appointee's security file, as maintained by the Office of Security, USDS, was reviewed by SA [redacted], and this file failed to disclose that any background investigation was ever conducted concerning the appointee by the Office of Security, USDS, except for a review of his official personnel folder in 1953. The file contained no additional pertinent information.

On February 6, 1961, Mr. DEAN ACHESON, an attorney with the law firm of Covington and Burling, Suite 701, 740 15th Street, N. W., who is a former Secretary of State under former President HARRY S. TRUMAN, advised SA [redacted] he considers the appointee an old, old friend. He stated that the appointee grew up in Wisconsin where he had been exposed to the German language and customs by the predominant German population there and added the appointee's father worked in Wisconsin for one of the railroads, whose policy it was to encourage immigration from northern Europe with land grants and employment and in this connection, an uncle of the appointee used to travel to Germany and Russia and used to bring back German and Russian literature in the early years of the 20th Century, which the appointee studiously and diligently studied as a young boy. He further stated that the appointee graduated from Princeton University and immediately thereafter entered the foreign service of the USDS where he remained until his retirement in 1953 after an absolutely brilliant career. Mr. ACHESON further stated that when the appointee entered the foreign service, he used to spend his evenings studying and learning the language and customs of the people in whose

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country he was then serving, as contrasted to other foreign service officers who used to spend their evenings in other unstudious type ways.

Mr. ACHESON also stated the appointee is a very perspicacious individual, adding that the appointee's reports from Moscow, based on his studies of the Soviet and the Communist Government during the mid 1940s, foretold quite accurately Russia's actions for the next ten years.

He further stated the appointee served in various assignments overseas and that at one time during his assignment in Washington, D. C., the appointee served as Counselor of the USDS and also served as Assistant Commandant of the War College and also as Head of the Planning Staff. He stated that it was he, the appointee, General MARSHALL, and a few other USDS individuals who developed the "Marshall Plan."

He also added that after the appointee served as the Head of the Planning Staff of the USDS, he grew restless and requested a change in assignment and was, therefore, sent to Russia as United States Ambassador.

He added the appointee served with distinction there but when arriving in Berlin from Moscow en route to the United States for consultation, the appointee answered an inquiry from a newsman about things in Moscow by publicly comparing unfavorably his treatment by the Russians with his earlier internment in Berlin by the Nazis, and this so enraged the Soviet Government officials that they declared him persona non grata and, therefore, he had to be replaced.

Mr. ACHESON also stated that at one time the appointee visited at least five South American countries on a study project from the USDS and upon returning to Washington, D. C., prepared a very comprehensive and thorough report on his findings. He added that if this report "had ever seen the light of day," the current Cuban situation would have nothing on reactions that would have been stirred all over Latin America. ACHESON stated that this report was actually suppressed by the Department. He also stated that in his opinion it was regrettable that JOHN FOSTER DULLES did not give the appointee an assignment in 1953 which required automatic retirement for the appointee.

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He also stated that after Mr. KENNAN retired, he went to work at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton, New Jersey, where he undertook to write a trilogy on the Soviet-United States relations from 1917 on and added that the first volume of this work is probably one of the most remarkable histories ever written. He stated that each letter, telegram and cablegram sent to the United States from the Embassy in Russia during the period from 1917 to 1920 is analyzed and the whereabouts of the President of the United States and the Secretary of State during this period is shown and the appointee's account records a nightmare of errors and misunderstandings. The book shows how cables were mis-delivered or delayed and also shows how action was taken on messages delivered three months after their dispatch when action should have been taken within twenty-four hours after their dispatch.

Mr. ACHESON stated that the appointee had also been offered a full professorship by the Yale University, which he declined as he wanted to finish writing the history of United States-Soviet relations.

Mr. ACHESON further stated that the appointee is a remarkable man who has out distanced all of his contemporaries in knowledge and sensitivity. He added the appointee has a beautiful English prose style and a deep mystical strain and added the appointee is qualified one hundred per cent plus for ambassadorial appointment. He also stated the appointee is the type of person who can "charm the bark off a tree."

He also stated that at one time the appointee was giving a lecture over the British Broadcasting Company Radio Network, on which occasion he advocated disengagement, that is, withdrawal of both Russian and United States forces from Europe. Mr. ACHESON added that upon receipt of this information, he, as Secretary of State, with expected protest from our European allies, was compelled to deny publicly that disengagement was a policy of the USDS and even had to denounce the appointee's "Messianic" urge." He added that later on after this incident had more or less cooled off, the appointee was reportedly to have said that his enemies are the best people or that the best people were against him, but apparently this did not seem to bother Mr. KENNAN too much as he continued to write him (ACHESON) very friendly letters quite often.

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He vouched for the appointee's character, associates, reputation and loyalty and favorably recommended him for a position of trust.

On February 8, 1961, Ambassador W. AVERELL HARRIMAN, Ambassador at Large, USDS, advised SA [ ] he has known the appointee socially and professionally since 1944, having first become acquainted with the appointee in 1944 when the appointee came to Moscow to serve under him. He added the appointee is one of the finest and most experienced men in the foreign service and added he considered the appointee's analysis of communist matters to be penetrating and his advice to be significant. He vouched for the appointee's character, associates, reputation and loyalty and favorably recommended him for a position of trust.

On February 9, 1961, Mr. WILLIAM A. CRAWFORD, Director, Office of Research and Analysis for the Sino-Soviet bloc, USDS, advised SA [ ] he served under the appointee's supervision in Moscow in 1945 and later in the Department of State at Washington, D. C., from 1947 to 1949. He described the appointee as an exceedingly able and hard-working individual who is highly qualified both through education and experience to be appointed to any type of position in the foreign service or with the USDS. He vouched for the appointee's character, associates, reputation and loyalty and favorably recommended him for a position of trust.

On February 9, 1961, Mr. WILLIAM O. BOSWELL, Director of the Office of Security, USDS, advised SA [ ] he worked under the appointee's supervision in 1942 at Lisbon, Portugal, and has maintained limited social contact with the appointee since that time. He described the appointee as a very brilliant and capable retired foreign service officer whose character, associates, reputation and loyalty are above reproach, and he recommended him most highly for a position of trust.

On February 9, 1961, Mr. GEORGE MORGAN, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Policy and Planning, advised SA [ ] he has known the appointee on a professional basis only since 1946. He described the appointee as a highly qualified, hard working and brilliant former foreign service officer whose character, associates, reputation and loyalty

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are above reproach, and he recommended him most highly for a position of trust.

On February 9, 1961, Mr. CARLTON SAVAGE, Executive Secretary for Policy and Planning, advised SA [ ] he worked under the appointee's direct supervision in 1947 for approximately a year. He stated the appointee was a highly qualified and dedicated retired foreign service officer whose character, associates, reputation and loyalty are above reproach, and he recommended him most favorably for a position of trust.

On February 9, 1961, Mr. HUGH S. CUMMINGS, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, advised SA [ ] he has known the appointee both professionally and socially since about 1929. He added he has served with the appointee both at the USDS and on foreign assignments on numerous occasions, and he described the appointee as a very brilliant and intelligent individual with the highest standards of integrity, honesty, morals and associates. He added the appointee is a one hundred per cent loyal United States citizen whose "record speaks for itself," and he favorably recommended him for a position of trust.

On February 10, 1961, Mr. FOY D. KOHLER, Assistant Secretary of the Bureau of European Affairs, advised SA [ ] he has known the appointee both professionally and socially since 1946. He stated the appointee is a very dependable, trustworthy, and hard-working individual and added the appointee has an outstanding knowledge of United States-Russian relationships and problems and fully recognizes the current problems facing the United States in dealing with the Soviet Union. He vouched for the appointee's character, associates, reputation and loyalty and favorably recommended him for a position of trust.

On February 9, 1961, Mr. CHARLES BOHLEN, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, advised SA [ ] he has known the appointee both professionally and socially for over thirty years. He described the appointee as being the best-qualified person in the United States today concerning Soviet Union-United States relations and added he is one of the few in the Department who thoroughly understands the Russians' aims, purposes and objectives and because of his knowledge, he would be a definite asset for appointment to a position of trust and confidence. He added he has the highest regard



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for the appointee and he vouched for his character, associates, reputation and loyalty and favorably recommended him for a position of trust.

On February 9, 1961, Mr. JOSEPH C. SATTERWAITE, Assistant Secretary of State, advised SA [ ] he has known the appointee both professionally and socially since 1926, explaining that he and the appointee were in the same foreign service school class together, and they both entered on duty with the Department of State at the same time. He added that he has nothing but the highest regard for the appointee both as a friend and a professional contemporary, and he vouched for his character, associates, reputation and loyalty and favorably recommended him for a position of trust.

On February 9, 1961, [ ] Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Office of Soviet Affairs, advised SA [ ] he served under the appointee's supervision in Moscow in 1944 and has had limited contact with him since that time. He stated in his opinion the appointee was one of the Department's most outstanding foreign service officers, and he described the appointee as a person whose character, associates, reputation and loyalty are above reproach, and he favorably recommended him for a position of trust.

On February 8, 1961, Mr. HENRY TASCO, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, advised SA [ ] he first met the appointee professionally in 1950 and has had limited contact with him. He added, however, that he has the highest regard for the appointee's ability as a foreign service officer and also stated he regards the appointee as a person whose character, associates, reputation and loyalty are above reproach, and he favorably recommended him for a position of trust.

#### CREDIT AND POLICE AGENCIES

On February 3, 1961, IC [ ] determined the files of the Credit Bureau, Incorporated, reflect the appointee and his spouse, [ ], have a satisfactory credit rating.

On February 3, 1961, SE [ ] determined the files of the Retail Merchants Credit Bureau of Alexandria,



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Incorporated, Alexandria, Virginia, contain no record on the appointee or his wife.

On February 4, 1961, SE [ ] determined the files of the Metropolitan Police Department contain no record of the appointee or his spouse on the date checked; at all times an indefinite number of unidentified records are out of file and not available for review.

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On February 3, 1961, IC [ ] determined the files of the United States Park Police contain no record on the appointee or his wife.

On February 3, 1961, SE [ ] determined the files of the Alexandria, Virginia, Police Department contain no record on the appointee or his wife.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

On February 3, 1961, IC [ ] determined the files of the Investigations Division, Civil Service Commission, contain no additional pertinent information concerning the appointee.

On February 7, 1961, IC [ ] searched the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, but these files contained no additional pertinent information and no derogatory information concerning the appointee.

On February 7, 1961, IC [ ] determined the files of the Headquarters Office, Office of Special Investigations, United States Department of the Air Force, contain no record on the appointee.

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Referral/Consult

On February 9, 1961, SA [ ] determined the files of the [ ] contain no pertinent identifiable information on the appointee's spouse.

On February 3, 1961, [ ], Personnel Clearance and Visitor Control Branch, Division of Security, United States Atomic Energy Commission, advised SA [ ] [ ] he has no security file on the appointee.

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He stated, however, GEORGE FROST KENNAN testified on April 30, 1954, before the Personnel Security Board of the

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United States Atomic Energy Commission in the matter of J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER. In substance KENNAN testified concerning his association with OPPENHEIMER in connection with the Policy and Planning Staff of the USDS, of which KENNAN had been Director. KENNAN testified that he regarded OPPENHEIMER as one of the great minds of the generation and that OPPENHEIMER had whole heartily and intelligently corroborated with him in his advisory position in an effort to reach their objective.

It should be noted that upon the conclusion of the hearing before the Personnel Security Board, which hearings lasted from April 12, 1954, through May 6, 1954, the Board recommended to the Commissioners of the Atomic Energy Commission that Mr. OPPENHEIMER's "Q" clearance be revoked and that OPPENHEIMER's access to restricted Atomic Energy Commission data be denied, and the Commissioners concurred in this finding and, accordingly, Mr. OPPENHEIMER's access to restricted Atomic Energy Commission data was denied, and his "Q" clearance was terminated.

On February 10, 1961, SA [ ] reviewed the file pertaining to the appointee, which file is maintained by the "Evening Star" newspaper morgue, and the file contains newspaper articles appearing in the "Evening Star" newspaper under the dates indicated, which articles are deemed pertinent or appropriate.

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August 24, 1947

American Quarterly Review "Foreign Affairs" issue of July, 1947, was reviewed, which contained an article entitled "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," which article was reportedly written by a Mr. X. Mr. X is reportedly GEORGE F. KENNAN and the article is a formidable analysis of the Politburo's motives and maneuvers.

July 22, 1951

Professor ROMAN SMAL-STOCKY, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in the current issue of "Ukrainian Bulletin" criticized KENNAN for in effect sustaining Russia's theory that the Ukrainians should live in political bondage under the Russians. Mr. KENNAN has said that Ukraine is economically as much a part of Russia as Pennsylvania is a part of the United States.

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May 15, 1952 - Associated Press Biographical Service

Mr. KENNAN developed the "containment theory" in a lengthy memorandum he submitted to the State Department at the end of World War II. As early as 1945, he had recommended from Russia that lavish American aid for the Soviet Union be cut back quickly.

November 3, 1952

GEORGE F. KENNAN left Europe today after having been barred from Russia in a October 3, 1952, note charging he had "slandered" the Soviet Union by telling newsmen in Berlin that life for foreign diplomats in Moscow was about the same as being interned by the Nazis in Berlin during World War II.

April 9, 1953

GEORGE F. KENNAN, the State Department announced, will go on a pension in the near future over policy difference with Secretary of State DULLES. KENNAN's containment policy holding back Russian expansion and strengthening the free nations was criticized by DULLES, who advocated moral pressure and propaganda moves, looking to ultimate liberation of Soviet satellite states.

May 16, 1953 - Associated Press

GEORGE F. KENNAN in an address on May 15, 1953, at Notre Dame University, which granted him an honorary degree, hit out at people who "distort and exaggerate" the communist problem. In an apparent attack on Congressional Red hunters, naming no names, he said, "The forces of intollerence and political demagogery are greedy forces and unrestrained. There is no limit to their ambitions or their imprudence." He spoke of the dangers of totalitarianism and charged that greedy forces working under the banner of an alarmed and exercised anticommunism impel American people to adopt many of the habits of thought and action, which Soviets have tried for years to impose on them.

March 17, 1954

GEORGE F. KENNAN, who maintains a legal residence at East Berlin, Pennsylvania, withdrew as a candidate for the

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Democratic nomination for Congress in Pennsylvania's 19th District on account of existing personal commitments inconsistent with requirements of a primary contest.

November 11, 1957

GEORGE F. KENNAN, a staff member of the Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton, New Jersey, this year is a visiting professor at Oxford University and gave the first of a series of lectures on "Russia, the Atom and the World" for the British Broadcasting Company.

November 25, 1957

GEORGE F. KENNAN gave the third talk in his series of lectures for the British Broadcasting Corporation on November 24, 1957, and called for the possible withdrawal of both eastern and western forces in Europe.

January 12, 1958

DEAN ACHESON has dis-associated himself from KENNAN's current theory and thinks that KENNAN made a serious mistake in his estimate of Russia's policies and behavior and in recommending the withdrawal of American troops from Europe as part of a negotiated settlement with the Kremlin.

March 11, 1958

"DOROTHY THOMPSON, columnist, stated that DEAN ACHESON is furious at KENNAN for challenging ACHESON's baby of arming West Germany within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)."

March 30, 1958

DEAN ACHESON in "Foreign Affairs" article in the April, 1958, issue has said that Mr. KENNAN's policy of disengagement is an illusion.

February 9, 1961

President KENNEDY nominated GEORGE F. KEENAN as Ambassador to Yugoslavia.

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office <b>NEW YORK</b>	Office of Origin <b>BUREAU</b>	Date <b>2/20/61</b>	Investigative Period <b>2/20/61</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>GEORGE FROST KENNAN</b>		Report made by <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 15px;"></div>	b6 b7C
		Typed By: <b>ahd</b>	
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>SPECIAL INQUIRY</b>	

XXXXX  
Synopsis

REFERENCE: Bureau teletype 2/18/61.

- RUC -

*interviewed*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4 BJA/DFW  
**410933**

Approved  <i>[Signature]</i>	Special Agent in Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
Copies made:  ① - Bureau 1 - New York (161-162)		161-281-32	
		NOT RECORDED 6 FEB 21 1961	

*mm*

*[Signature]*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: [REDACTED]

Office: NEW YORK

Date:

2/20/61

Field Office File No.: New York 161-162

Bureau File No.:

Title:

GEORGE FROST KENNAN

Character:

SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis:

[REDACTED] advised nothing ever came to her attention to make her question appointee's character or loyalty to U. S. Considers appointee to be inexpert concerning communism.

- RUC -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-3-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

# 410933

NY 161-162

On February 20, 1961, [redacted]  
[redacted] New York, New York, advised that she  
never met the appointee. She stated that she never heard  
anything unfavorable concerning the character or loyalty  
of the appointee.

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She pointed out that she made a  
complete study of the political writings of the appointee  
and considers his point of view on foreign policy to be  
detrimental to the welfare of the United States. She  
added that his writings have added to the prestige of the  
Soviet Union. She considers the appointee to be inexpert  
concerning communism. She advised that she considers his  
opinions are not scholarly and that his part in formulating  
the foreign policy of the United States would not be  
beneficial to the United States. She stated that the  
opinion stated by her above is based exclusively on her  
studies of his writings.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 23 1961

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

URGENT 2-20-61 4-30 PM AMP

TO DIRECTOR, FBI /8/

FROM SAC, NEW YORK 161-162 1 P.

GEORGE FROST KENNAN, SPI. ON TWO TWENTY SIXTY ONE, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], ADVISED THAT SHE HAS NEVER MET THE APPOINTEE AND  
HER OPINION OF THE APPOINTEE IS BASED EXCLUSIVELY ON THE FACT  
THAT SHE MADE A STUDY OF THE POLITICAL WRITINGS OF THE APPOINTEE  
AND CONSIDERS HIS POINT OF VIEW ON FOREIGN POLICY TO BE  
DETRIMENTAL TO THE WELFARE OF THE U. S. SHE ADDED THAT HIS  
WRITINGS HAVE ADDED TO THE PRESTIGE OF THE SOVIET UNION. SHE  
CONSIDERS THE APPOINTEE TO BE INEXPERT ON COMMUNISM. SHE  
CONSIDERS THAT HIS OPINIONS ARE NOT SCHOLARLY AND HIS PART IN  
FORMULATING THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE U. S. WOULD NOT BE  
BENEFICIAL TO THE U. S.. REPORT FOLLOWS.

END AND ACK

NY R 8 WA BH

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Jude/epd 5/18/61*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
410933

161-281-33  
NOT RECORDED  
11 MAY 23 1961

*6- Jm*

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F B I

Date: 2/25/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (161-153)

GEORGE FROST KENNAN  
SPI

per letter dated 5-23-01 SP4BJA/DFW  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
# 410433

Rerep of SA [ ] 2/14/61, at WFO.

On 2/24/61, IC [ ] reviewed the  
appointee's passport file, Department of State, which  
reflects the appointee was born 2/16/04, at Milwaukee,  
Wisconsin and has been issued the following passports:

Passport No. 447832, issued 5/31/54 for two years  
for travel to permissible countries in Europe,  
reason not shown;

Diplomatic passport no. 11900, issued 4/9/52, for  
travel to the USSR as Ambassador Extra-Ordinary  
and Plenipotentiary of the USA;

Special Passport No. 31467, issued 5/25/54, for  
three months' pleasure trip to permissible  
countries in Europe. This passport was renewed  
on 6/25/57, for travel to England and Norway for  
pleasure and to teach at Oxford Univ. in England  
for the academic year;

Special Passport No. 161772 issued 6/5/58, for  
travel to permissible countries, reason not shown.  
This passport was renewed on 5/18/60, to expire  
in two years.

3- Bureau  
1- WFO

HEW:rps  
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AIRTEL

161-281-34

NOT RECORDED

11 MAY 23 1961

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

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The file also reflects that previous applications for passports were made by the appointee in 1926, 1927, 1933, 1938, 1945, and 1947; however, [redacted] Clerk, Passport Office, advised that a special search had been made for the file reflecting these passports being issued, but the file could not be located.

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On 2/24/61, [redacted] Clerk, Personnel Section, U. S. Secret Service, Dept. of the Treasury, advised SA [redacted] she has no record on the appointee.

[redacted] check on the appointee still outstanding.

Referral/Consult

F B I

Date: 2/28/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (161-153)

GEORGE FROST KENNAN  
SPI

Re WFO airtel 2/27/61.

Referral/Consult

On 2/28/61, SA [ ] determined the files of [ ] contain nothing derogatory concerning the appointee. All investigation by WFO completed.

RUC

3-Bureau  
1-WFO

HEW:jeg  
(4)

per letter dated 5-23-01 SP4BJA/DFW  
8-20-02

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

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AIRTEL161-281-35

NOT RECORDED

11 MAY 23 1961

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

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F B I

Date: 3/2/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (161-153)

GEORGE FROST KENNAN  
SPIALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIEDDATE 2-8-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
#410933

On 3/2/61, [redacted], Reference  
 Librarian, Library of Congress, advised SA [redacted] that  
 his index reflects the following books and/or pamphlets  
 on file and authored by the appointee. (not included are  
 numerous magazine articles)

BOOK

American Diplomacy 1900-1950, published 1951  
 by Chicago University, Chicago Press (154 pages)

America's Role in the Intervention 1918-1920 in  
 Russia: An Address Delivered at the School of  
 Slavonic and East European Studies, University  
 of London on May 12, 1958, published in London  
 1958.

Realities of American Foreign Policy published by  
 Princeton University Press 1954, 119 pages  
 published in connection with the Stafford Little  
 Lectures at Princeton U, 1954.

3 - Bureau  
 1 - WFO

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NOT RECORDED

11 MAY 23 1961

AIRTEL

Approved: [Signature]  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

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WFO 161-153

Russia and the United States; A Speech Delivered at the Annual Student Faculty Banquet, Russian Institute Student Group, Columbia University, New York City, May 27, 1950, published by Overbrook Press in 1950, 18 pages.

Russia, The Atom and The West, published by Harper Publishing Company in 1958, 116 pages.

Soviet-American Relations 1917-1920, published by Princeton U Press, contains two volumes,  
Volume 1, Russia Leaves the War  
Volume 2, The Decision to Intervene

Soviet Foreign Policy 1917-1941, published by Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey, 1960 (192 pages)

United States Congress, Senate and Committee on Foreign Relations - Informal Meeting with GEORGE E. KENNAN. Hearing Before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate in the 86th Congress First Session May 12, 1959, published by the United States Government Printing Office in 1959.

F B I

Date: 3/13/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

AIRTEL

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (161-153)

GEORGE FROST KENNAN  
SPI

per letter dated 5-23-61 SP4BJA/DFW  
8-20-62  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-16-99 BY SP4BJA/1  
# 410933

Referral/Consult  
b6  
b7C

On 3/10/61, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], advised SA [REDACTED] the appointee's OPF reflects he was born on 2/16/04, at Milwaukee, Wisconsin. On 11/24/50, the appointee entered on duty as an Intermittent Consultant to [REDACTED] at \$50 per day when actually employed. This appointment was extended annually on a fiscal year basis through the close of business on 6/30/57, when it was terminated as being no longer needed. On 12/3/58, he again entered on duty as an Intermittent Consultant at \$50 per day when actually employed, which employment was terminated on 2/17/61, because of anticipated return to full-time government service by the appointee. He added the file contained no additional pertinent info.

On 3/10/61, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], advised SA [REDACTED] he has known the appointee since 1946, and has worked with the appointee in the appointee's capacity as Consultant from 1950 to February of this year. He explained the appointee's services are utilized as a member of [REDACTED], and the appointee used to come to Washington, D. C., possibly three or four times a year for one-day sessions of [REDACTED]

RUC.

3 - Bureau  
1 - WFO

HEW:bjl  
(4)

NOT RECORDED

11 MAY 23 1961

AIRTEL

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

WFO 161-153

Referral/Consult  
b6  
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the Board. He described the appointee as a highly capable and responsible individual who has dedicated a good many years to government service in the interest of serving his country. He vouched for his character, associates, reputation, and loyalty and highly recommended the appointee for a position of trust.

On 3/10/61, [redacted], [redacted] advised SA [redacted] he has been officially acquainted with the appointee since 1950 in connection with the appointee's services as a Consultant on [redacted] for [redacted]. He stated the appointee in his opinion is a highly responsible, devoted, capable, and dedicated public servant in every respect, and he vouched for the appointee's character, associates, reputation, and loyalty. He added he would give an unqualified recommendation for appointment of the appointee to a position of trust and confidence in the government's service.

All investigation by WFO completed.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-3-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

TO : Mr. Evans *le*

6410933

DATE: March 17, 1961

FROM : Mr. Cleveland *W*SUBJECT: GEORGE FROST KENNAN  
SPECIAL INQUIRY

Tolson	✓
Parsons	✓
Mohr	✓
Belmont	✓
Callahan	✓
Conrad	✓
DeLoach	✓
Evans	✓
Malone	✓
Rosen	✓
Tavel	✓
Trotter	✓
W.C. Sullivan	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Ingram	✓
Gandy	✓

Special inquiry investigation conducted on Kennan at request of State Department. He has been appointed Ambassador to Yugoslavia. Investigation completed except interviews of U. S. Senators from Pennsylvania.

Kennan was career officer in State Department until 1953 when he retired and has been at Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey. He has been described as one of foremost experts in American-Soviet policies.

Kennan has maintained cordial relations with the Bureau and furnished helpful and pertinent material while he was with State Department. In 1952 he was Ambassador to Soviet Union.

Article in 5/7/56 issue of "New York Times" reported that, according to Kennan, we should look upon the changes in Soviet policy with hope to establish future relations and, although our relations with China were not promising we should not try to obstruct admission of Red China to the United Nations if a majority of that body wants it. The Director expressed amazement at the way Kennan had fallen for the Soviet line.

In 1947 Kennan became renowned for his "containment" policy of preventing further Soviet expansion. He testified in J. Robert Oppenheimer hearings that Oppenheimer intelligently helped him in Kennan's advisory position to the Secretary of State and that Oppenheimer had a great mind. In 1957-1958 Kennan gave series of broadcasts in England during which he advocated withdrawal of troops from Germany by West and Soviet Union and that North Atlantic Treaty Organization should not be supplied with missiles. Dean Acheson advised he was compelled to criticize Kennan on this to avoid misunderstanding by our allies.

Alice Widener, columnist, New York City, who is on Special Correspondents List, feels Kennan is "Marxist in essence" from reviewing his writings. Andrew Alföldi, Institute of Pacific Relations, feels Kennan has "too soft" attitude towards Soviets. Former U. S. Representative Charles J. Kersten said Kennan has been weak in attitude toward Russia. Others interviewed, including Dean Acheson, feel he is well qualified for ambassadorial position.

Enclosures *sent 3-21-61*  
JMD:mrh

NOT RECORDED

11 MAY 23 1961

161-281-38



Memorandum to Mr. Evans  
Re: GEORGE FROST KENNAN

OBSERVATIONS

Kennan has written six books and a number of magazine articles in addition to a number of speeches containing his opinions on American foreign policy. The attached summary memorandum contains comments by others of Kennan's "containment" policy; his advocacy of admission of Red China to United Nations; and his ideas of withdrawal of troops from Germany. Analysis of Kennan's writings and speeches not being included in summary for transmittal to White House since it would entail review of all his writings to insure completeness and to avoid any possibility of charge of lack of objectivity by Bureau. Such an analysis would place us in position of making opinions rather than fact-finding. Letter to White House transmitting summary includes statement that our investigation did not include a review or analysis of his writings or speeches.

RECOMMENDATION

That the attached cover letter and summary memorandum be delivered to State Department and to Mr. O'Donnell at the White House since Presidential appointment is involved.

*Jab*

*[Signature]*

*V.*

*OK  
Cam*

*[Signature]*

1 - Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Evans  
1 - Mr. Stanley  
1 - Mr. Cleveland  
1 - Mr. Morris  
1 - Mr. deBettencourt

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4 BJA/DFW

410933

March 21, 1961

BY COURIER SERVICE

The Honorable  
The Secretary of State  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

In accordance with the request of [redacted], Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Department of State, received January 31, 1961, an investigation has been conducted concerning Mr. George Frost Kennan. Transmitted herewith is a summary memorandum containing the results of this investigation, a copy of which is being furnished to the Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell at the White House. Attached to the summary memorandum is one copy each of four pertinent newspaper or magazine articles concerning statements attributed to Mr. Kennan.

The investigation of Mr. Kennan covered inquiries as to his character, loyalty, general standing and ability, but no inquiries were made as to the sources of his income. Also, the investigation did not include a review or an analysis of Mr. Kennan's writings or speeches. No inquiries have been made overseas concerning Mr. Kennan.

Additional inquiries\* are being conducted. You will be advised of the results when these inquiries have been completed.

Sincerely yours,

J. EDGAR HOOVER

RED 21

161-281-39

NOT RECORDED  
15 MAR 22 1961

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosures (5)

\* Interviews of U. S. Senators from Pennsylvania.

JMD:clh:djj:mrl  
(8)

NOTE: See memo C.I. Evans, 3-17-61.

POM [ ] TELETYPE UNIT [ ]

cc to Air Force  
11/20/64 by [redacted] 12/14/64  
cc to [redacted] by [redacted]

Referral/Consult

per letter dated 5-23-01 SP4BJA/DFW  
8-20-02  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-8-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
#410933

March 20, 1961

GEORGE FROST KENNAN Summary

# I. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

## Birth

Mr. Kennan was born February 16, 1904, at Milwaukee, Wisconsin. His parents were Kossuth Kent Kennan and Florence Kennan, who are deceased.

## Education

In 1925 Mr. Kennan received an A.B. degree from Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

Mr. Kennan has received honorary LL.D. degrees from the following universities:

Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, 1950;

Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, 1950;

Colgate University, Hamilton, New York, 1951;

University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana, 1953;

Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, 1954;

The New School for Social Research, New York, New York, 1955;

Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, 1956;

JMD:ejf

ENCLOSURE

## **George Frost Kennan**

**University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1957;**

**Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1957;**

**Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, 1958.**

**He received an honorary Master's degree from Oxford University, England, in 1957.**

### **Employment**

**Information has been received that Mr. Kennan was employed during the Christmas season in 1922 by the United States Post Office Department at Trenton, New Jersey. Records for this employment have been destroyed.**

**From 1926 to 1953 Mr. Kennan was employed as a foreign service officer by the United States Department of State. During this period of time he served in various positions from vice-consul to Ambassador to the Soviet Union,**

**In 1933 Mr. Kennan accompanied United States Ambassador William C. Bullitt to Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In 1935 he was appointed Second Secretary, United States Embassy, Moscow. In 1944 he was appointed "Minister-Counselor" at the United States Embassy, Moscow. In 1952 he was appointed United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union. In October, 1952, Mr. Kennan, as Ambassador to the Soviet Union, was declared persona non grata, and was recalled to the United States.**

**On July 29, 1953, Mr. Kennan retired from employment by the United States Department of State.**

**Since 1950 Mr. Kennan has been a member of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey. In 1952 he obtained a leave of absence in order to serve as Ambassador in Moscow.**

**In February, 1961, Mr. Kennan was appointed Ambassador to Yugoslavia.**

**In addition to the above employments, Mr. Kennan has also served in the following capacities:**

**George Frost Kennan**

**Stafford Little lecturer at Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, in 1954;**

**George Eastman visiting professor, Balliol College, Oxford University, England, 1957-1958;**

**Visiting lecturer at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, March, 1960, to April, 1960;**

**Conducted seminar in history of Soviet foreign policy at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, October, 1960, to January, 1961.**

Referral/Consult

In 1951 Mr. Kennan was named as President of the Free Russia Fund, Incorporated, which was established by the Ford Foundation as an organization to assist refugees and exiles in settling in the United States. No information has been received indicating that Mr. Kennan is still affiliated with the Free Russia Fund, Incorporated.

Mr. Kennan entered on duty on November 24, 1950, as a consultant employed by [redacted]. This employment was continued on a fiscal-year basis through June 30, 1957, when it was terminated as his services were no longer needed. On December 3, 1958, he was again employed in the same capacity and continued this employment until February 17, 1961, when it was terminated because Mr. Kennan anticipated returning to full-time Government service. Information has been received that Mr. Kennan's services during this employment were utilized by [redacted] in connection with the [redacted].

**Marital Status**

Mr. Kennan is married to the former [redacted]. Their permanent residence is R.F.D. 2, East Berlin, Pennsylvania but they have been residing at 146 Hodge Road, Princeton, New Jersey.

George Frost Kennan

## II. RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

### Interviews

W. Averell Harriman, Ambassador at Large, United States Department of State, Washington, D. C., advised he has known Mr. Kennan socially and professionally since 1944, having first become acquainted with him when Mr. Kennan went to Moscow to serve under Ambassador Harriman. Ambassador Harriman said Mr. Kennan is one of the finest and most experienced men in the foreign service of the United States and added that he considers Mr. Kennan's analysis of communist matters to be penetrating and his advice to be significant. Ambassador Harriman commented favorably concerning Mr. Kennan's character, associates, reputation and loyalty and recommended him for a position of trust.

William A. Crawford, Director, Office of Research and Analysis, United States Department of State, Washington, D. C., stated he served under Mr. Kennan in Moscow in 1948 and in the Department of State at Washington, D. C., from 1947 to 1949. He described Mr. Kennan as an exceedingly able and hard-working person who is highly qualified, both through education and experience, to be appointed to any type of position in the foreign service or in the United States Department of State. He commented favorably concerning Mr. Kennan's reputation, associates, character and loyalty and recommended him for a position of trust.

Hugh S. Cummings, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, United States Department of State, Washington, D. C., advised he has known Mr. Kennan professionally and socially since about 1929. He said he has served with Mr. Kennan at the Department of State and on foreign assignments on numerous occasions and he described Mr. Kennan as a very intelligent individual who possesses the highest standards of integrity. Mr. Cummings said that Mr. Kennan is a "one hundred per cent loyal United States citizen" whose record speaks for itself and recommended Mr. Kennan for a position of trust.

George Frost Kennan

Charles Bohlen, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, United States Department of State, Washington, D. C., advised he has known Mr. Kennan professionally and socially for over thirty years. Mr. Bohlen said Mr. Kennan is the best qualified person in the United States concerning United States - Soviet Union relations. He said Mr. Kennan is one of the few people in the Department of State who thoroughly understands the Russian objectives and because of this knowledge Mr. Kennan would be a definite asset in a position of trust and confidence. He said he has the highest regard for Mr. Kennan and commented favorably concerning Mr. Kennan's character, associates, reputation and loyalty.

Miss Dorothy Hossman, Secretary, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, advised she has known Mr. Kennan since 1944 and became his private secretary in 1945 while Mr. Kennan was at the American Embassy in Moscow. She said she has been his secretary ever since that time with the exception of his first year at the Institute for Advanced Study. Miss Hossman said that Mr. Kennan's intelligence is beyond her ability to describe and he gets along well with people. She said he is humble, but he is forceful in his beliefs. She said he speaks several languages and is a very gracious person. She described Mr. Kennan as an individual of the highest moral reputation and character and she regards him as a loyal American citizen. She said she would not hesitate to recommend Mr. Kennan for a position of trust.

Louis Fischer, member of the School of Historical Studies, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, advised he has known Mr. Kennan since 1934. He said that during the last two years he and Mr. Kennan have enjoyed a close friendly professional and social acquaintanceship. He described Mr. Kennan as a great American who has an exceptionally keen mind. Mr. Fischer further said that Mr. Kennan has pure motives and possesses the "old style American Puritan virtues." Mr. Fischer said that Mr. Kennan loves his country and has lived as a public

**George Frost Kennan**

servant even when he was not employed by the Federal Government. He said that Mr. Kennan could remain at the Institute for Advanced Study and be better off financially, but that Mr. Kennan felt it was his duty to serve his Government. Mr. Fischer commented very favorably concerning Mr. Kennan's character, reputation and associates and recommended him without question for any appointment with the Department of State.

Charles J. Kersten, former United States Representative from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, advised that he does not believe Mr. Kennan is or was a communist, but he believes Mr. Kennan has been naive politically regarding communism and has advocated procommunist policies. He said he believes Mr. Kennan has been weak in his attitude toward Russia and that Mr. Kennan's policy of "containment" did not go far enough. Mr. Kersten said that he disagrees with this policy and believes that more affirmative efforts should be taken to liberate countries held captive by the communists. Mr. Kersten said that his opinion regarding Mr. Kennan is based upon his having followed Mr. Kennan's career for many years, and that he has no specific or concrete documentation for his opinions concerning Mr. Kennan. Mr. Kersten said that he, Mr. Kersten, was an admirer of and a co-worker of the late United States Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin and that Mr. Kennan had been openly in disagreement with Senator McCarthy and Mr. Kersten.

An individual, who has requested anonymity, but with whom there has been insufficient contact to determine her reliability, advised in 1955 that her research in the subject of communism and Marxism had led her to the conclusion that the influence of Marxism in the Federal Government sprang from the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey. Among the group of individuals she had in mind was George Kennan. She said she is opposed to Marxism and advised that Mr. Kennan's writings had indicated to her that he is a "Marxist in essence." She said her research work indicated that the danger was that such people, who have been an influence in the Government, particularly in the Department of State, and who have been ousted, have only taken up another position of influence.



**George Frost Kennan**

The same individual was interviewed in 1961, at which time she advised she has never met Mr. Kennan and she has never heard anything unfavorable concerning his character or loyalty. She pointed out that she has made a complete study of the political writings of Mr. Kennan and considered his point of view on foreign policy to be detrimental to the welfare of the United States. She said that his writings have added to the prestige of the Soviet Union. She said she considered Mr. Kennan to be inexpert concerning communism and his opinions to be not scholarly. She said his part in formulating the foreign policy of the United States would not be beneficial to the United States. She concluded by stating that her opinion is based exclusively on her studies of Mr. Kennan's writings.

Andrew Alfoldi, permanent member and professor, School of Historical Studies, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, advised that he has known Mr. Kennan since July 1, 1955, when he, Professor Alfoldi, was appointed to the Institute for Advanced Study. He said that since that time he has had many talks with Mr. Kennan concerning Russia. Professor Alfoldi stated that he is in disagreement with many of Mr. Kennan's ideas as far as Russia is concerned. He said he came to the United States from Hungary in 1947. He said he lived under the Russian regime for approximately two and one-half years, during which time he endured many bitter experiences, and recently has had reason to believe his brother was murdered by the communists. He said he believes Mr. Kennan has certain sympathies toward the Soviet Government. He said he did not wish anyone to believe that Mr. Kennan was a communist tool but he felt that Mr. Kennan's optimistic viewpoints are unconsciously influencing his ideas. Professor Alfoldi added that because of the bitter experiences he has had under the communists, he is an advocate of a strong, forceful policy toward the Soviet Union. He said that because of Mr. Kennan's experience in the foreign-service field he would be able to do an excellent job as Ambassador to Yugoslavia, but said he would hesitate to recommend him for a higher level State Department appointment as he feels Mr. Kennan advocates a "too soft" policy toward the Soviet Union.

## **George Frost Kennan**

Dean Acheson, attorney, Washington, D. C., who is a former Secretary of State, United States Department of State, advised he considered Mr. Kennan an old friend. Mr. Acheson said that Mr. Kennan as a boy diligently studied German and Russian literature. He said that Mr. Kennan retired in 1953 after an "absolutely brilliant career" in the Department of State. Mr. Acheson further stated that after Mr. Kennan had entered the foreign service of the Department of State he spent his evenings learning the language and customs of the people in whose country he was then serving.

Mr. Acheson also advised that Mr. Kennan is a perspicacious individual and his reports from Moscow, which were based upon his studies of the Soviet Government during the middle 1940's, foretold quite accurately the Soviet Union's actions for the next ten years.

According to Mr. Acheson, Mr. Kennan served as Counselor of the Department of State; as Assistant Commandant of the National War College; and as head of the Policy Planning Staff, Department of State. Mr. Acheson said Mr. Kennan was one of a small group of individuals who assisted in developing the "Marshall Plan." He said that after his service with the Policy Planning Staff, Mr. Kennan grew restless and requested a change of assignment and was sent to the Soviet Union as United States Ambassador. This was in 1952.

Mr. Acheson commented that Mr. Kennan served with distinction in the Soviet Union, but upon arriving in Berlin, Germany, en route from Moscow to the United States for consultation, Mr. Kennan answered an inquiry from a newspaperman about conditions in Moscow by publicly comparing unfavorably his treatment by the Russians with his treatment by the Nazis while interned in Berlin. This so enraged the Soviets, Mr. Acheson stated, that they declared him persona non grata and he had to be replaced.

## **George Frost Kennan**

Mr. Acheson said that after his retirement from employment at the Department of State, Mr. Kennan went to the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, where he undertook the writing of a three-volume history of the United States-Soviet Union relations beginning with 1917. He stated that the first volume of this work is probably one of the most remarkable histories ever written. Mr. Acheson was of the opinion that Mr. Kennan has outdistanced his contemporaries in knowledge and sensitivity.

Mr. Acheson recalled that Mr. Kennan gave a lecture over the British Broadcasting Company radio when he advocated disengagement; that is, withdrawal of Russian and United States forces from Europe. Mr. Acheson added that he, Mr. Acheson, knowing our European allies would protest, was compelled to publicly deny the policy of disengagement.

In connection with the above information, Mr. Kennan appeared in a series of six broadcasts in England over the British Broadcasting Company radio. The January 17, 1958, edition of "U. S. News and World Report," contained an article composed of excerpts from a statement by Dean Acheson which was critical of statements made by Mr. Kennan in his broadcasts. There is attached a copy of this article.

Mr. Acheson said that Mr. Kennan is qualified "one hundred per cent plus" for an ambassadorial appointment. He commented favorably concerning Mr. Kennan's character, associates, reputation and loyalty.

In addition to the above-mentioned persons, twenty-one individuals were interviewed concerning Mr. Kennan. All of those individuals commented favorably concerning Mr. Kennan's character, reputation and loyalty to the United States.

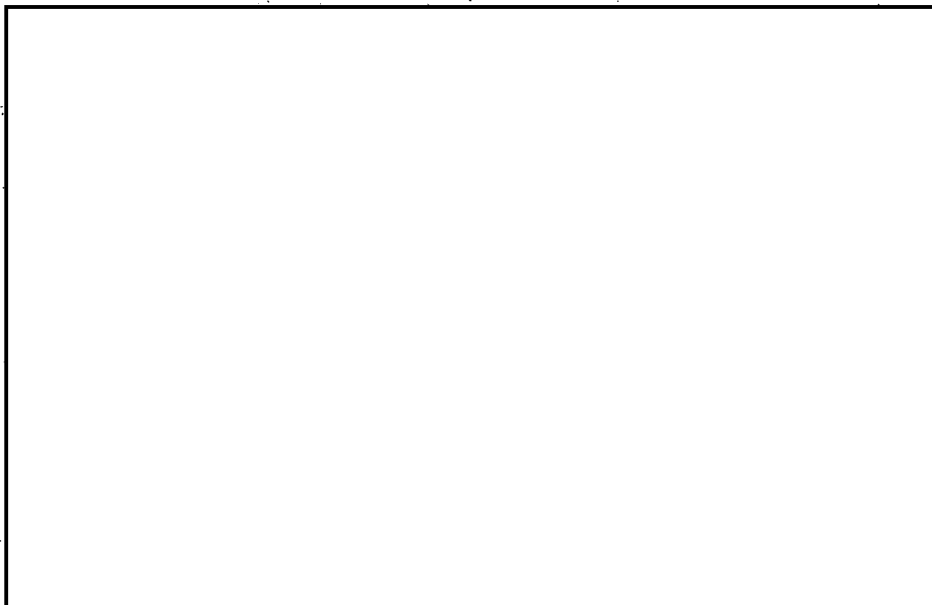
### **Close Relatives**

In addition to his wife, Mr. Kennan has the following close relatives:



b6  
b7C

**George Frost Kennan**



b6  
b7C

**Credit and Arrest Checks**

Information has been received from appropriate credit reporting agencies and law enforcement agencies indicating that their files contain either no record or no additional pertinent information concerning Mr. Kennan or his close relatives.

**Agency Checks**

Information has been received that the files of the following governmental agencies contain no record or no additional pertinent information concerning Mr. Kennan:

Office of Security, Department of State;  
Investigations Division, Civil Service  
Commission; House Committee on Un-American  
Activities; Office of Special Investigations,  
Department of the Air Force; and Division of  
Security, Atomic Energy Commission.

ejf

George Frost Kennan

Passport Record

The records of the Passport Office, Department of State, disclosed that Mr. Kennan was issued four passports between 1952 and 1958 for travel to various parts of the world in connection with official business and for pleasure. The file concerning Mr. Kennan at the Passport Office also indicated that previous applications for passports were made by Mr. Kennan in 1926, 1927, 1933, 1938, 1945 and 1947. Information was received that a special search had been made for the file which would reflect the issuance of passports to Mr. Kennan following these applications, but the file could not be located.

Miscellaneous

According to the files of the Personnel Clearance and Visitor Control Branch, Division of Security, United States Atomic Energy Commission, Washington, D. C., Mr. Kennan testified on April 30, 1954, before the Personnel Security Board of the Atomic Energy Commission, which was considering the matter pertaining to J. Robert Oppenheimer. Mr. Kennan testified concerning his association with Dr. Oppenheimer in connection with the Policy and Planning Staff of which Mr. Kennan had been the Director. Mr. Kennan testified that he regarded Dr. Oppenheimer most highly as one of the great minds of his generation and that Dr. Oppenheimer had wholeheartedly and intelligently corroborated with him in his advisory position to the Secretary of State.

In connection with J. Robert Oppenheimer, hearings were held from April 12, 1954, through May 6, 1954, before the Personnel Security Board, United States Atomic Energy Commission, on the basis of that Board's recommendation to the Commissioners of the Atomic Energy Commission that Dr. Oppenheimer's "Q" clearance be revoked and his access to restricted Atomic Energy Commission data be denied. The Commissioners concurred with the Board's recommendation and Dr. Oppenheimer's access to restricted Atomic Energy Commission data was denied and his "Q" clearance was terminated.

George Frost Kennan

The September 11, 1956, issue of "The Washington Post and Times Herald," Washington, D. C., contained an article by George E. Sokolsky which referred to a recent article written by Mr. Kennan in the magazine, "The New Leader." According to Mr. Sokolsky, Mr. Kennan made the point in this article that there was little hope for better relations between the United States and Red China and added "... I have never shared and cannot now share in the savage enthusiasm many Americans have worked up over the cause of keeping the Chinese Communists out of the United Nations. I fail to see the logic of this position or to understand the overriding importance people attach to the question. It is not my understanding that we ever objected on principle to the inclusion of Communist states in the United Nations..." Mr. Sokolsky also reported that Mr. Kennan said in the same article in "The New Leader" the following:

"...And to scratch around now among Communist regimes to establish relative degrees of iniquity entitling some to membership and others not, is an undertaking for which I personally have no stomach...."

There is attached a copy of the article by Mr. Sokolsky.

In the July, 1947, issue of "Foreign Affairs" magazine there appeared an article entitled, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," written by "X." Mr. Charles E. Bohlen, then Counselor, Department of State, Washington, D. C., in his testimony on March 2, 1953, before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Washington, D. C., identified Mr. "X" as Mr. Kennan. Mr. Bohlen testified that essentially the article described the Soviet Union, and in it Mr. Kennan expressed the view that if the expansion of the Soviet Union was contained, Mr. Kennan felt that certain things might, in the future, happen within the Soviet system. Mr. Bohlen continued that Mr. Kennan suggested that the United States should direct its efforts to prevent further expansion by the Soviet Union. He said he had never felt the article was anything more than a partial description of United States foreign policy as he had known it since the end of World War II. Mr. Bohlen stated that publicity given to Mr. Kennan's article in "Foreign Affairs" resulted in the use of the word "containment" in describing Mr. Kennan's theories.

George Frost Kennan

Mr. Bohlen said that at the time the article was written by Mr. Kennan the problem was not then something more positive than containment, but Mr. Kennan attempted to do what he could through this article to convince people of the necessity of not being indifferent to further extension of Soviet power. He said that at that time the alternative was noncontainment as against containment and not containment as against some more positive or dynamic action.

There is attached a copy of the article by "X" in the July, 1947, issue of "Foreign Affairs."

The "Monthly Summary of Trends and Developments" of August, 1947, published by the National Americanism Commission, Sub-Committee on Subversive Activities, The American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana, contained a review of the article by "X" in the July, 1947, issue of "Foreign Affairs."

There is attached a copy of the review in the "Monthly Summary of Trends and Developments."

#### Writings

According to the Card Catalogue, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., the following books were written by Mr. Kennan:

"American Diplomacy 1900-1950," published in 1951, for which Mr. Kennan was awarded the Freedom House Award in 1951.

"Realities of America Foreign Policy," published in 1954.

"Das Amerikanisch Russische Verhattnis," published in 1954.

George Frost Kennan

**"Soviet-American Relations 1917-1920"**

"Russia Leaves the War," (Volume I) published in 1956, for which Mr. Kennan was awarded the Bancroft Prize in 1956; the National Book Award in 1957; the Francis Parkman prize in 1957; and the Pulitzer prize in history in 1957.

"Decision to Intervene," (Volume II) published in 1958.

"Russia, The Atom and The West," published in 1958.

"Soviet Foreign Policy 1917-1941," published in 1960.

In addition to the above publications, Mr. Kennan has written a number of articles and has given a number of speeches.

The central files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation do not contain any additional pertinent data.

Enclosures (4)



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED in this envelope  
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DATE 7-16-99 BY SP4 BJA/DFW  
E410933

161-281-39

ENCLOSURE

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

AN AMERICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW



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## THE SOURCES OF SOVIET CONDUCT

*By X*

THE political personality of Soviet power as we know it today is the product of ideology and circumstances: ideology inherited by the present Soviet leaders from the movement in which they had their political origin, and circumstances of the power which they now have exercised for nearly three decades in Russia. There can be few tasks of psychological analysis more difficult than to try to trace the interaction of these two forces and the relative rôle of each in the determination of official Soviet conduct. Yet the attempt must be made if that conduct is to be understood and effectively countered.

It is difficult to summarize the set of ideological concepts with which the Soviet leaders came into power. Marxian ideology, in its Russian-Communist projection, has always been in process of subtle evolution. The materials on which it bases itself are extensive and complex. But the outstanding features of Communist thought as it existed in 1916 may perhaps be summarized as follows: (a) that the central factor in the life of man, the factor which determines the character of public life and the "physiognomy of society," is the system by which material goods are produced and exchanged; (b) that the capitalist system of production is a nefarious one which inevitably leads to the exploitation of the working class by the capital-owning class and is incapable of developing adequately the economic resources of society or of distributing fairly the material goods produced by human labor; (c) that capitalism contains the seeds of its own destruction and must, in view of the inability of the capital-owning class to adjust itself to economic change, result eventually and inescapably in a revolutionary transfer of power to the working class; and (d) that imperialism, the final phase of capitalism, leads directly to war and revolution.

The rest may be outlined in Lenin's own words: "Unevenness of economic and political development is the inflexible law of capitalism. It follows from this that the victory of Socialism may come originally in a few capitalist countries or even in a single capitalist country. The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and having organized Socialist production at home, would rise against the remain-

ing capitalist world, drawing to itself in the process the oppressed classes of other countries."<sup>1</sup> It must be noted that there was no assumption that capitalism would perish without proletarian revolution. A final push was needed from a revolutionary proletariat movement in order to tip over the tottering structure. But it was regarded as inevitable that sooner or later that push be given.

For 50 years prior to the outbreak of the Revolution, this pattern of thought had exercised great fascination for the members of the Russian revolutionary movement. Frustrated, discontented, hopeless of finding self-expression — or too impatient to seek it — in the confining limits of the Tsarist political system, yet lacking wide popular support for their choice of bloody revolution as a means of social betterment, these revolutionists found in Marxist theory a highly convenient rationalization for their own instinctive desires. It afforded pseudo-scientific justification for their impatience, for their categorical denial of all value in the Tsarist system, for their yearning for power and revenge and for their inclination to cut corners in the pursuit of it. It is therefore no wonder that they had come to believe implicitly in the truth and soundness of the Marxian-Leninist teachings, so congenial to their own impulses and emotions. Their sincerity need not be impugned. This is a phenomenon as old as human nature itself. It has never been more aptly described than by Edward Gibbon, who wrote in "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire": "From enthusiasm to imposture the step is perilous and slippery; the demon of Socrates affords a memorable instance how a wise man may deceive himself, how a good man may deceive others, how the conscience may slumber in a mixed and middle state between self-illusion and voluntary fraud." And it was with this set of conceptions that the members of the Bolshevik Party entered into power.

Now it must be noted that through all the years of preparation for revolution, the attention of these men, as indeed of Marx himself, had been centered less on the future form which Socialism<sup>2</sup> would take than on the necessary overthrow of rival power which, in their view, had to precede the introduction of Socialism. Their views, therefore, on the positive program to be put into

<sup>1</sup> "Concerning the Slogans of the United States of Europe," August 1915. Official Soviet edition of Lenin's works.

<sup>2</sup> Here and elsewhere in this paper "Socialism" refers to Marxist or Leninist Communism, no to liberal Socialism of the Second International variety.

effect, once power was attained, were for the most part nebulous, visionary and impractical. Beyond the nationalization of industry and the expropriation of large private capital holdings there was no agreed program. The treatment of the peasantry, which according to the Marxist formulation was not of the proletariat, had always been a vague spot in the pattern of Communist thought; and it remained an object of controversy and vacillation for the first ten years of Communist power.

The circumstances of the immediate post-revolution period — the existence in Russia of civil war and foreign intervention, together with the obvious fact that the Communists represented only a tiny minority of the Russian people — made the establishment of dictatorial power a necessity. The experiment with "war Communism" and the abrupt attempt to eliminate private production and trade had unfortunate economic consequences and caused further bitterness against the new revolutionary régime. While the temporary relaxation of the effort to communize Russia, represented by the New Economic Policy, alleviated some of this economic distress and thereby served its purpose, it also made it evident that the "capitalistic sector of society" was still prepared to profit at once from any relaxation of governmental pressure, and would, if permitted to continue to exist, always constitute a powerful opposing element to the Soviet régime and a serious rival for influence in the country. Somewhat the same situation prevailed with respect to the individual peasant who, in his own small way, was also a private producer.

Lenin, had he lived, might have proved a great enough man to reconcile these conflicting forces to the ultimate benefit of Russian society, though this is questionable. But be that as it may, Stalin, and those whom he led in the struggle for succession to Lenin's position of leadership, were not the men to tolerate rival political forces in the sphere of power which they coveted. Their sense of insecurity was too great. Their particular brand of fanaticism, unmodified by any of the Anglo-Saxon traditions of compromise, was too fierce and too jealous to envisage any permanent sharing of power. From the Russian-Asiatic world out of which they had emerged they carried with them a skepticism as to the possibilities of permanent and peaceful coexistence of rival forces. Easily persuaded of their own doctrinaire "rightness," they insisted on the submission or destruction of all competing power. Outside of the Communist Party, Russian society

was to have no rigidity. There were to be no forms of collective human activity or association which would not be dominated by the Party. No other force in Russian society was to be permitted to achieve vitality or integrity. Only the Party was to have structure. All else was to be an amorphous mass.

And within the Party the same principle was to apply. The mass of Party members might go through the motions of election, deliberation, decision and action; but in these motions they were to be animated not by their own individual wills but by the awesome breath of the Party leadership and the overbrooding presence of "the word."

Let it be stressed again that subjectively these men probably did not seek absolutism for its own sake. They doubtless believed — and found it easy to believe — that they alone knew what was good for society and that they would accomplish that good once their power was secure and unchallengeable. But in seeking that security of their own rule they were prepared to recognize no restrictions, either of God or man, on the character of their methods. And until such time as that security might be achieved, they placed far down on their scale of operational priorities the comforts and happiness of the peoples entrusted to their care.

Now the outstanding circumstance concerning the Soviet régime is that down to the present day this process of political consolidation has never been completed and the men in the Kremlin have continued to be predominantly absorbed with the struggle to secure and make absolute the power which they seized in November 1917. They have endeavored to secure it primarily against forces at home, within Soviet society itself. But they have also endeavored to secure it against the outside world. For ideology, as we have seen, taught them that the outside world was hostile and that it was their duty eventually to overthrow the political forces beyond their borders. The powerful hands of Russian history and tradition reached up to sustain them in this feeling. Finally, their own aggressive intransigence with respect to the outside world began to find its own reaction; and they were soon forced, to use another Gibbonesque phrase, "to chastise the contumacy" which they themselves had provoked. It is an undeniable privilege of every man to prove himself right in the thesis that the world is his enemy; for if he reiterates it frequently enough and makes it the background of his conduct he is bound eventually to be right.

Now it lies in the nature of the mental world of the Soviet leaders, as well as in the character of their ideology, that no opposition to them can be officially recognized as having any merit or justification whatsoever. Such opposition can flow, in theory, only from the hostile and incorrigible forces of dying capitalism. As long as remnants of capitalism were officially recognized as existing in Russia, it was possible to place on them, as an internal element, part of the blame for the maintenance of a dictatorial form of society. But as these remnants were liquidated, little by little, this justification fell away; and when it was indicated officially that they had been finally destroyed, it disappeared altogether. And this fact created one of the most basic of the compulsions which came to act upon the Soviet régime: since capitalism no longer existed in Russia and since it could not be admitted that there could be serious or widespread opposition to the Kremlin springing spontaneously from the liberated masses under its authority, it became necessary to justify the retention of the dictatorship by stressing the menace of capitalism abroad.

This began at an early date. In 1924 Stalin specifically defended the retention of the "organs of suppression," meaning, among others, the army and the secret police, on the ground that "as long as there is a capitalist encirclement there will be danger of intervention with all the consequences that flow from that danger." In accordance with that theory, and from that time on, all internal opposition forces in Russia have consistently been portrayed as the agents of foreign forces of reaction antagonistic to Soviet power.

By the same token, tremendous emphasis has been placed on the original Communist thesis of a basic antagonism between the capitalist and Socialist worlds. It is clear, from many indications, that this emphasis is not founded in reality. The real facts concerning it have been confused by the existence abroad of genuine resentment provoked by Soviet philosophy and tactics and occasionally by the existence of great centers of military power, notably the Nazi régime in Germany and the Japanese Government of the late 1930's, which did indeed have aggressive designs against the Soviet Union. But there is ample evidence that the stress laid in Moscow on the menace confronting Soviet society from the world outside its borders is founded not in the realities of foreign antagonism but in the necessity of explaining away the maintenance of dictatorial authority at home.

Now the maintenance of this pattern of Soviet power, namely, the pursuit of unlimited authority domestically, accompanied by the cultivation of the semi-myth of implacable foreign hostility, has gone far to shape the actual machinery of Soviet power as we know it today. Internal organs of administration which did not serve this purpose withered on the vine. Organs which did serve this purpose became vastly swollen. The security of Soviet power came to rest on the iron discipline of the Party, on the severity and ubiquity of the secret police, and on the uncompromising economic monopolism of the state. The "organs of suppression," in which the Soviet leaders had sought security from rival forces, became in large measure the masters of those whom they were designed to serve. Today the major part of the structure of Soviet power is committed to the perfection of the dictatorship and to the maintenance of the concept of Russia as in a state of siege, with the enemy lowering beyond the walls. And the millions of human beings who form that part of the structure of power must defend at all costs this concept of Russia's position, for without it they are themselves superfluous.

As things stand today, the rulers can no longer dream of parting with these organs of suppression. The quest for absolute power, pursued now for nearly three decades with a ruthlessness unparalleled (in scope at least) in modern times, has again produced internally, as it did externally, its own reaction. The excesses of the police apparatus have fanned the potential opposition to the régime into something far greater and more dangerous than it could have been before those excesses began.

But least of all can the rulers dispense with the fiction by which the maintenance of dictatorial power has been defended. For this fiction has been canonized in Soviet philosophy by the excesses already committed in its name; and it is now anchored in the Soviet structure of thought by bonds far greater than those of mere ideology.

## II

So much for the historical background. What does it spell in terms of the political personality of Soviet power as we know it today?

Of the original ideology, nothing has been officially junked. Belief is maintained in the basic badness of capitalism, in the inevitability of its destruction, in the obligation of the proletariat



to assist in that destruction and to take power into its own hands. But stress has come to be laid primarily on those concepts which relate most specifically to the Soviet régime itself: to its position as the sole truly Socialist régime in a dark and misguided world, and to the relationships of power within it.

The first of these concepts is that of the innate antagonism between capitalism and Socialism. We have seen how deeply that concept has become imbedded in foundations of Soviet power. It has profound implications for Russia's conduct as a member of international society. It means that there can never be on Moscow's side any sincere assumption of a community of aims between the Soviet Union and powers which are regarded as capitalist. It must invariably be assumed in Moscow that the aims of the capitalist world are antagonistic to the Soviet régime, and therefore to the interests of the peoples it controls. If the Soviet Government occasionally sets its signature to documents which would indicate the contrary, this is to be regarded as a tactical manoeuvre permissible in dealing with the enemy (who is without honor) and should be taken in the spirit of *caveat emptor*. Basically, the antagonism remains. It is postulated. And from it flow many of the phenomena which we find disturbing in the Kremlin's conduct of foreign policy: the secretiveness, the lack of frankness, the duplicity, the wary suspiciousness, and the basic unfriendliness of purpose. These phenomena are there to stay, for the foreseeable future. There can be variations of degree and of emphasis. When there is something the Russians want from us, one or the other of these features of their policy may be thrust temporarily into the background; and when that happens there will always be Americans who will leap forward with gleeful announcements that "the Russians have changed," and some who will even try to take credit for having brought about such "changes." But we should not be misled by tactical manoeuvres. These characteristics of Soviet policy, like the postulate from which they flow, are basic to the internal nature of Soviet power, and will be with us, whether in the foreground or the background, until the internal nature of Soviet power is changed.

This means that we are going to continue for a long time to find the Russians difficult to deal with. It does not mean that they should be considered as embarked upon a do-or-die program to overthrow our society by a given date. The theory of the inevitability of the eventual fall of capitalism has the fortunate

connotation that there is no hurry about it. The forces of progress can take their time in preparing the final *coup de grâce*. Meanwhile, what is vital is that the "Socialist fatherland" — that oasis of power which has been already won for Socialism in the person of the Soviet Union — should be cherished and defended by all good Communists at home and abroad, its fortunes promoted, its enemies badgered and confounded. The promotion of premature, "adventuristic" revolutionary projects abroad which might embarrass Soviet power in any way would be an inexcusable, even a counter-revolutionary act. The cause of Socialism is the support and promotion of Soviet power, as defined in Moscow.

This brings us to the second of the concepts important to contemporary Soviet outlook. That is the infallibility of the Kremlin. The Soviet concept of power, which permits no focal points of organization outside the Party itself, requires that the Party leadership remain in theory the sole repository of truth. For if truth were to be found elsewhere, there would be justification for its expression in organized activity. But it is precisely that which the Kremlin cannot and will not permit.

The leadership of the Communist Party is therefore always right, and has been always right ever since in 1929 Stalin formalized his personal power by announcing that decisions of the Politburo were being taken unanimously.

On the principle of infallibility there rests the iron discipline of the Communist Party. In fact, the two concepts are mutually self-supporting. Perfect discipline requires recognition of infallibility. Infallibility requires the observance of discipline. And the two together go far to determine the behaviorism of the entire Soviet apparatus of power. But their effect cannot be understood unless a third factor be taken into account: namely, the fact that the leadership is at liberty to put forward for tactical purposes any particular thesis which it finds useful to the cause at any particular moment and to require the faithful and unquestioning acceptance of that thesis by the members of the movement as a whole. This means that truth is not a constant but is actually created, for all intents and purposes, by the Soviet leaders themselves. It may vary from week to week, from month to month. It is nothing absolute and immutable — nothing which flows from objective reality. It is only the most recent manifestation of the wisdom of those in whom the ultimate wisdom is supposed to reside, because they represent the logic of history.

The accumulative effect of these factors is to give to the whole subordinate apparatus of Soviet power an unshakeable stubbornness and steadfastness in its orientation. This orientation can be changed at will by the Kremlin but by no other power. Once a given party line has been laid down on a given issue of current policy, the whole Soviet governmental machine, including the mechanism of diplomacy, moves inexorably along the prescribed path, like a persistent toy automobile wound up and headed in a given direction, stopping only when it meets with some unanswerable force. The individuals who are the components of this machine are unamenable to argument or reason which comes to them from outside sources. Their whole training has taught them to mistrust and discount the glib persuasiveness of the outside world. Like the white dog before the phonograph, they hear only the "master's voice." And if they are to be called off from the purposes last dictated to them, it is the master who must call them off. Thus the foreign representative cannot hope that his words will make any impression on them. The most that he can hope is that they will be transmitted to those at the top, who are capable of changing the party line. But even those are not likely to be swayed by any normal logic in the words of the bourgeois representative. Since there can be no appeal to common purposes, there can be no appeal to common mental approaches. For this reason, facts speak louder than words to the ears of the Kremlin; and words carry the greatest weight when they have the ring of reflecting, or being backed up by, facts of unchallengeable validity.

But we have seen that the Kremlin is under no ideological compulsion to accomplish its purposes in a hurry. Like the Church, it is dealing in ideological concepts which are of long-term validity, and it can afford to be patient. It has no right to risk the existing achievements of the revolution for the sake of vain baubles of the future. The very teachings of Lenin himself require great caution and flexibility in the pursuit of Communist purposes. Again, these precepts are fortified by the lessons of Russian history: of centuries of obscure battles between nomadic forces over the stretches of a vast unfortified plain. Here caution, circumspection, flexibility and deception are the valuable qualities; and their value finds natural appreciation in the Russian or the oriental mind. Thus the Kremlin has no compunction about retreating in the face of superior force. And being under the com-

pulsion of no timetable, it does not get panicky under the necessity for such retreat. Its political action is a fluid stream which moves constantly, wherever it is permitted to move, toward a given goal. Its main concern is to make sure that it has filled every nook and cranny available to it in the basin of world power. But if it finds unassailable barriers in its path, it accepts these philosophically and accommodates itself to them. The main thing is that there should always be pressure, unceasing constant pressure, toward the desired goal. There is no trace of any feeling in Soviet psychology that that goal must be reached at any given time.

These considerations make Soviet diplomacy at once easier and more difficult to deal with than the diplomacy of individual aggressive leaders like Napoleon and Hitler. On the one hand it is more sensitive to contrary force, more ready to yield on individual sectors of the diplomatic front when that force is felt to be too strong, and thus more rational in the logic and rhetoric of power. On the other hand it cannot be easily defeated or discouraged by a single victory on the part of its opponents. And the patient persistence by which it is animated means that it can be effectively countered not by sporadic acts which represent the momentary whims of democratic opinion but only by intelligent long-range policies on the part of Russia's adversaries — policies no less steady in their purpose, and no less variegated and resourceful in their application, than those of the Soviet Union itself.

In these circumstances it is clear that the main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies. It is important to note, however, that such a policy has nothing to do with outward histrionics: with threats or blustering or superfluous gestures of outward "toughness." While the Kremlin is basically flexible in its reaction to political realities, it is by no means unamenable to considerations of prestige. Like almost any other government, it can be placed by tactless and threatening gestures in a position where it cannot afford to yield even though this might be dictated by its sense of realism. The Russian leaders are keen judges of human psychology, and as such they are highly conscious that loss of temper and of self-control is never a source of strength in political affairs. They are quick to exploit such evidences of weakness. For these

reasons, it is a *sine qua non* of successful dealing with Russia that the foreign government in question should remain at all times cool and collected and that its demands on Russian policy should be put forward in such a manner as to leave the way open for a compliance not too detrimental to Russian prestige.

## III

In the light of the above, it will be clearly seen that the Soviet pressure against the free institutions of the western world is something that can be contained by the adroit and vigilant application of counter-force at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points, corresponding to the shifts and manoeuvres of Soviet policy, but which cannot be charmed or talked out of existence. The Russians look forward to a duel of infinite duration, and they see that already they have scored great successes. It must be borne in mind that there was a time when the Communist Party represented far more of a minority in the sphere of Russian national life than Soviet power today represents in the world community.

But if ideology convinces the rulers of Russia that truth is on their side and that they can therefore afford to wait, those of us on whom that ideology has no claim are free to examine objectively the validity of that premise. The Soviet thesis not only implies complete lack of control by the west over its own economic destiny, it likewise assumes Russian unity, discipline and patience over an infinite period. Let us bring this apocalyptic vision down to earth, and suppose that the western world finds the strength and resourcefulness to contain Soviet power over a period of ten to fifteen years. What does that spell for Russia itself?

The Soviet leaders, taking advantage of the contributions of modern technique to the arts of despotism, have solved the question of obedience within the confines of their power. Few challenge their authority; and even those who do are unable to make that challenge valid as against the organs of suppression of the state.

The Kremlin has also proved able to accomplish its purpose of building up in Russia, regardless of the interests of the inhabitants, an industrial foundation of heavy metallurgy, which is, to be sure, not yet complete but which is nevertheless continuing to grow and is approaching those of the other major industrial

countries. All of this, however, both the maintenance of internal political security and the building of heavy industry, has been carried out at a terrible cost in human life and in human hopes and energies. It has necessitated the use of forced labor on a scale unprecedented in modern times under conditions of peace. It has involved the neglect or abuse of other phases of Soviet economic life, particularly agriculture, consumers' goods production, housing and transportation.

To all that, the war has added its tremendous toll of destruction, death and human exhaustion. In consequence of this, we have in Russia today a population which is physically and spiritually tired. The mass of the people are disillusioned, skeptical and no longer as accessible as they once were to the magical attraction which Soviet power still radiates to its followers abroad. The avidity with which people seized upon the slight respite accorded to the Church for tactical reasons during the war was eloquent testimony to the fact that their capacity for faith and devotion found little expression in the purposes of the régime.

In these circumstances, there are limits to the physical and nervous strength of people themselves. These limits are absolute ones, and are binding even for the cruelest dictatorship, because beyond them people cannot be driven. The forced labor camps and the other agencies of constraint provide temporary means of compelling people to work longer hours than their own volition or mere economic pressure would dictate; but if people survive them at all they become old before their time and must be considered as human casualties to the demands of dictatorship. In either case their best powers are no longer available to society and can no longer be enlisted in the service of the state.

Here only the younger generation can help. The younger generation, despite all vicissitudes and sufferings, is numerous and vigorous; and the Russians are a talented people. But it still remains to be seen what will be the effects on mature performance of the abnormal emotional strains of childhood which Soviet dictatorship created and which were enormously increased by the war. Such things as normal security and placidity of home environment have practically ceased to exist in the Soviet Union outside of the most remote farms and villages. And observers are not yet sure whether that is not going to leave its mark on the over-all capacity of the generation now coming into maturity.

In addition to this, we have the fact that Soviet economic de-

velopment, while it can list certain formidable achievements, has been precariously spotty and uneven. Russian Communists who speak of the "uneven development of capitalism" should blush at the contemplation of their own national economy. Here certain branches of economic life, such as the metallurgical and machine industries, have been pushed out of all proportion to other sectors of economy. Here is a nation striving to become in a short period one of the great industrial nations of the world while it still has no highway network worthy of the name and only a relatively primitive network of railways. Much has been done to increase efficiency of labor and to teach primitive peasants something about the operation of machines. But maintenance is still a crying deficiency of all Soviet economy. Construction is hasty and poor in quality. Depreciation must be enormous. And in vast sectors of economic life it has not yet been possible to instill into labor anything like that general culture of production and technical self-respect which characterizes the skilled worker of the west.

It is difficult to see how these deficiencies can be corrected at an early date by a tired and dispirited population working largely under the shadow of fear and compulsion. And as long as they are not overcome, Russia will remain economically a vulnerable, and in a certain sense an impotent, nation, capable of exporting its enthusiasms and of radiating the strange charm of its primitive political vitality but unable to back up those articles of export by the real evidences of material power and prosperity.

Meanwhile, a great uncertainty hangs over the political life of the Soviet Union. That is the uncertainty involved in the transfer of power from one individual or group of individuals to others.

This is, of course, outstandingly the problem of the personal position of Stalin. We must remember that his succession to Lenin's pinnacle of preëminence in the Communist movement was the only such transfer of individual authority which the Soviet Union has experienced. That transfer took 12 years to consolidate. It cost the lives of millions of people and shook the state to its foundations. The attendant tremors were felt all through the international revolutionary movement, to the disadvantage of the Kremlin itself.

It is always possible that another transfer of preëminent power may take place quietly and inconspicuously, with no repercussions anywhere. But again, it is possible that the questions involved may unleash, to use some of Lenin's words, one of those

"incredibly swift transitions" from "delicate deceit" to "wild violence" which characterize Russian history, and may shake Soviet power to its foundations.

But this is not only a question of Stalin himself. There has been, since 1938, a dangerous congealment of political life in the higher circles of Soviet power. The All-Union Congress of Soviets, in theory the supreme body of the Party, is supposed to meet not less often than once in three years. It will soon be eight full years since its last meeting. During this period membership in the Party has numerically doubled. Party mortality during the war was enormous; and today well over half of the Party members are persons who have entered since the last Party congress was held. Meanwhile, the same small group of men has carried on at the top through an amazing series of national vicissitudes. Surely there is some reason why the experiences of the war brought basic political changes to every one of the great governments of the west. Surely the causes of that phenomenon are basic enough to be present somewhere in the obscurity of Soviet political life, as well. And yet no recognition has been given to these causes in Russia.

It must be surmised from this that even within so highly disciplined an organization as the Communist Party there must be a growing divergence in age, outlook and interest between the great mass of Party members, only so recently recruited into the movement, and the little self-perpetuating clique of men at the top, whom most of these Party members have never met, with whom they have never conversed, and with whom they can have no political intimacy.

Who can say whether, in these circumstances, the eventual rejuvenation of the higher spheres of authority (which can only be a matter of time) can take place smoothly and peacefully, or whether rivals in the quest for higher power will not eventually reach down into these politically immature and inexperienced masses in order to find support for their respective claims? If this were ever to happen, strange consequences could flow for the Communist Party: for the membership at large has been exercised only in the practices of iron discipline and obedience and not in the arts of compromise and accommodation. And if disunity were ever to seize and paralyze the Party, the chaos and weakness of Russian society would be revealed in forms beyond description. For we have seen that Soviet power is only a crust concealing an



amorphous mass of human beings among whom no independent organizational structure is tolerated. In Russia there is not even such a thing as local government. The present generation of Russians have never known spontaneity of collective action. If, consequently, anything were ever to occur to disrupt the unity and efficacy of the Party as a political instrument, Soviet Russia might be changed overnight from one of the strongest to one of the weakest and most pitiable of national societies.

Thus the future of Soviet power may not be by any means as secure as Russian capacity for self-delusion would make it appear to the men in the Kremlin. That they can keep power themselves, they have demonstrated. That they can quietly and easily turn it over to others remains to be proved. Meanwhile, the hardships of their rule and the vicissitudes of international life have taken a heavy toll of the strength and hopes of the great people on whom their power rests. It is curious to note that the ideological power of Soviet authority is strongest today in areas beyond the frontiers of Russia, beyond the reach of its police power. This phenomenon brings to mind a comparison used by Thomas Mann in his great novel "Buddenbrooks." Observing that human institutions often show the greatest outward brilliance at a moment when inner decay is in reality farthest advanced, he compared the Buddenbrook family, in the days of its greatest glamour, to one of those stars whose light shines most brightly on this world when in reality it has long since ceased to exist. And who can say with assurance that the strong light still cast by the Kremlin on the dissatisfied peoples of the western world is not the powerful afterglow of a constellation which is in actuality on the wane? This cannot be proved. And it cannot be disproved. But the possibility remains (and in the opinion of this writer it is a strong one) that Soviet power, like the capitalist world of its conception, bears within it the seeds of its own decay, and that the sprouting of these seeds is well advanced.

#### IV

It is clear that the United States cannot expect in the foreseeable future to enjoy political intimacy with the Soviet régime. It must continue to regard the Soviet Union as a rival, not a partner, in the political arena. It must continue to expect that Soviet policies will reflect no abstract love of peace and stability, no real faith in the possibility of a permanent happy coexistence

of the Socialist and capitalist worlds, but rather a cautious, persistent pressure toward the disruption and weakening of all rival influence and rival power.

Balanced against this are the facts that Russia, as opposed to the western world in general, is still by far the weaker party, that Soviet policy is highly flexible, and that Soviet society may well contain deficiencies which will eventually weaken its own total potential. This would of itself warrant the United States entering with reasonable confidence upon a policy of firm containment, designed to confront the Russians with unalterable counter-force at every point where they show signs of encroaching upon the interests of a peaceful and stable world.

But in actuality the possibilities for American policy are by no means limited to holding the line and hoping for the best. It is entirely possible for the United States to influence by its actions the internal developments, both within Russia and throughout the international Communist movement, by which Russian policy is largely determined. This is not only a question of the modest measure of informational activity which this government can conduct in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, although that, too, is important. It is rather a question of the degree to which the United States can create among the peoples of the world generally the impression of a country which knows what it wants, which is coping successfully with the problems of its internal life and with the responsibilities of a World Power, and which has a spiritual vitality capable of holding its own among the major ideological currents of the time. To the extent that such an impression can be created and maintained, the aims of Russian Communism must appear sterile and quixotic, the hopes and enthusiasm of Moscow's supporters must wane, and added strain must be imposed on the Kremlin's foreign policies. For the palsied decrepitude of the capitalist world is the keystone of Communist philosophy. Even the failure of the United States to experience the early economic depression which the ravens of the Red Square have been predicting with such complacent confidence since hostilities ceased would have deep and important repercussions throughout the Communist world.

By the same token, exhibitions of indecision, disunity and internal disintegration within this country have an exhilarating effect on the whole Communist movement. At each evidence of these tendencies, a thrill of hope and excitement goes through

the Communist world; a new jauntiness can be noted in the Moscow tread; new groups of foreign supporters climb on to what they can only view as the band wagon of international politics; and Russian pressure increases all along the line in international affairs.

It would be an exaggeration to say that American behavior unassisted and alone could exercise a power of life and death over the Communist movement and bring about the early fall of Soviet power in Russia. But the United States has it in its power to increase enormously the strains under which Soviet policy must operate, to force upon the Kremlin a far greater degree of moderation and circumspection than it has had to observe in recent years, and in this way to promote tendencies which must eventually find their outlet in either the break-up or the gradual mellowing of Soviet power. For no mystical, Messianic movement — and particularly not that of the Kremlin — can face frustration indefinitely without eventually adjusting itself in one way or another to the logic of that state of affairs.

Thus the decision will really fall in large measure in this country itself. The issue of Soviet-American relations is in essence a test of the over-all worth of the United States as a nation among nations. To avoid destruction the United States need only measure up to its own best traditions and prove itself worthy of preservation as a great nation.

Surely, there was never a fairer test of national quality than this. In the light of these circumstances, the thoughtful observer of Russian-American relations will find no cause for complaint in the Kremlin's challenge to American society. He will rather experience a certain gratitude to a Providence which, by providing the American people with this implacable challenge, has made their entire security as a nation dependent on their pulling themselves together and accepting the responsibilities of moral and political leadership that history plainly intended them to bear.

100

161-281-39

MONTHLY SUMMARY OF TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS

DATE: August, 1947

VOL. 1 #4

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SOURCE: ~~THE~~ NATIONAL AMERICANISM COMMISSION  
~~SUB-COMMITTEE ON SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES~~  
THE AMERICAN LEGION  
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS  
INDIANAPOLIS 6, INDIANA

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COMMUNISM IN ACTION pamphlet put out by the Library of Congress. Numerous Congressmen objected to its publication in its first draft for a variety of reasons. Some complained of unfair strictures against the Franco government, others that leading American industrialists were unjustly linked by innuendo with German cartels when in fact the U. S. government itself had encouraged such economic collaboration prior to 1939, and still others objected to FASCISM IN ACTION as of benefit only as propaganda material to left wing groups.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### MONTHLY CHECK-LIST

July issue of FOREIGN AFFAIRS carried an extremely penetrating article entitled ~~SOURCES OF SOVIET CONDUCT~~. The author "X" remained anonymous giving rise to considerable speculation as to authorship. The Communists flatly accused George ~~KENNAN~~, Chief of General Marshall's new policy planning staff in the State Department. It was obviously written by some one with first-hand experience in Russia. While valuable in tracing and outlining the true causes of Soviet Russia's aggressive foreign policy it nevertheless contained weakening elements of speculation based on hopes, many of them quite faint, that internal stresses and strains inherent in the Communist dictatorship might bring trouble to the Bolshevik rulers before they can still further jeopardize world peace. Some of the reasoning, particularly along economic lines, would quite naturally lead to certain definite breakdowns in western, free democracies with resultant tactical retreats in foreign policy. The same does not necessarily follow in a totalitarian system.

Russia has previously demonstrated that literally millions of her population may actually starve to death or be completely uprooted and removed from her economy and transported en masse to perish in Siberia without any noticeable reaction in her economic life. A million women and children died of starvation in the city of Leningrad alone during the war without affecting in the slightest the military

defense of the city or appreciably the industrial output of the factory workers who wore food on their jobs without being able to smuggle a morsel of food home to their dying families.

SATURDAY EVENING POST for August 9 had a good article by J. C. ~~RICH~~ entitled: ~~"HOW THE GARMENT UNIONS LICKED THE COMMUNISTS."~~  
~~PLAIN TALK, NEW LEADER,~~ and the ~~NATIONAL REPUBLIC~~ are all recommended for their excellent coverage on subversion.

# ACHESON REJECTS "KENNAN PLAN"

**The so-called "Kennan Plan" to pull U. S. troops out of Europe now is under attack by former Secretary of State Dean Acheson.**

**The Kennan suggestion, first broadcast in Britain and rebroadcast in U.S. and Germany, caused a sensation in Europe. Here is what Mr. Acheson says about it.**

*Following are excerpts from a statement by Dean Acheson that was issued in New York by the American Council on Germany on Jan. 11, 1958:*

I am told that the impression exists in Europe that the views expressed by Mr. George Kennan in his Reith lectures [a series of lectures broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation], particularly that a proposal should be made for the withdrawal of American, British and Russian troops from Europe, represent the views of the Democratic Party in the United States. Most categorically they do not, as Mr. Kennan would, I am sure, agree. The opinions stated in the Reith lectures are not now made by Mr. Kennan for the first time. They were expounded by him within the Democratic Administration early in 1949, and rejected. They are today contrary to the expressed opinion of Democratic leaders in the Congress and outside of it.

Mr. Kennan can speak with authority in the field he knows—and a broad one it is—the field of Russian history and culture, and the attitudes of mind induced by the practice of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Mr. Kennan has never, in my judgment, grasped the realities of power relationships, but takes a rather mystical attitude toward them. To Mr. Kennan there is no Soviet military threat in Europe. "If," he says, "the armed forces of the United States and Britain were not present on the Continent, the problem of defense for the continental nations would be primarily one of the internal health and discipline of the respective national societies, and of the manner in which they were organized to prevent the conquest and subjugation of their national life by unscrupulous and foreign-inspired minorities in their midst." A desirable state of health and discipline would enable them to say to the Soviet Union that, while it had the power to overrun them, "not a single Communist or other person likely to perform your political business will become available to you for this purpose." Then follows this almost Messianic statement:

"I think I can give personal assurance that any country which is in a position to say this to Moscow, not in so many words, but in that language of military posture and political behavior which the Russian Communists understand best of all, will have little need of foreign garrisons to assure its immunity from Soviet attack."

How can any man speak of a "personal assurance" to any such effect? On what does the guarantee rest, unless divine

revelation? But, even in its terms, the assurance seems to contain its own refutation. In the present state of the distribution of power in this world, and in the light of the use made by the Russian Communist regime of its power to extend its authority, can one doubt that, were it not for the American connection, there would be more independent national life in Western Europe than there is in Eastern Europe?

Mr. Kennan's prescription for salvation by internal health and discipline within the national societies of Europe calls for a degree of wholesome purity which does not exist within any state I can think of. Not only that, but the normal and natural consequence of leaving Russian military power unopposable on the Continent would seem to mean a vast increase in the number of those Communists and other persons likely to perform Russian political business available to supplant those who ventured to oppose that business. The very withdrawal from the Continent of the Allies, whose presence alone permits Western Europe to withstand Soviet pressure, will make impossible the development of that national health and discipline which is supposed to make their presence unnecessary.

To speak, as Mr. Kennan did, of the alternative to American and British power in Europe as being "Soviet attack" is misleading. In many, perhaps in most, cases an attack by Soviet forces, faced with only token resistance, would not be necessary, as it was not in Czechoslovakia in 1948, or in Poland today. Soviet purposes could be accomplished by intimidation, with the lesson of Hungary in everyone's mind. Poland, by the way, might be the country which could come nearer than any in Europe to making the defiant declaration Mr. Kennan advocates. They know the Russians even better than Mr. Kennan does. But that does not free the Poles from Russian domination. It is idle to suppose that they would be more free if the power capable of opposing the Soviet Union withdrew from the Continent.

Let me quote him again:

"It cannot be stressed too often that NATO's [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] real strength does not lie in the paper undertakings which underpin it; it lies—and will continue in any circumstances to lie—in the appreciation of the Western spiritual and cultural community. If this appreciation is there, NATO will not be weaker as a political reality, because it may be supplemented or replaced by other arrangements so far as Germany is concerned."

There are many things one might say about this. One is that the "other arrangements so far as Germany is concerned" would leave the military protection of Europe to massive nuclear retaliation, which is just where Mr. Kennan and all the rest of us do not want it to be. A second is that it indefinitely delays the day when nuclear weapons of all sorts might be canceled out and the guarantee of European security placed on Allied conventional forces. But perhaps the most pertinent statement for our present purpose is that, so long as we are giving personal assurances, I think I can give mine that Mr. Kennan's opinion is not shared by any responsible leader in the Democratic Party in the United States.

(END)



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DATE 7-16-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW

# These Days . . . . . By George Sokolsky

## Red China and the U. N.

IT IS impossible in a moral world to separate politics from moral law, although the Machiavellians, who reject absolutes of any kind, refuse to accept the moral law as a guide for political action.

George F. Kennan makes the point in an article that there is little hope for better relations between the United States and Red China. Then he adds:

"... I have never shared and cannot now share in the savage enthusiasm many Americans have worked up over the cause of keeping the Chinese Communists out of the United Nations. I fail to see the logic of this position or to understand the overriding importance people attach to the question. It is not my understanding that we ever objected on principle to the inclusion of Communist states in the United Nations ..."

THIS ATTITUDE completely ignores the nature of the Korean war which was declared to be a United Nations police action and into which the Chinese Communists intervened with the object of defeating the United Nations forces. Eventually they put up a campaign to force themselves upon the United Nations. Their attitude could not be translated otherwise than an attempt to shoot their way into the United Nations. That cannot be other than an immoral act which



Sokolsky

needs to be defeated so that no other nation may have a precedent for dealing with a United Nations question by the use of force.

Since the Korean war, Red China has held a number of Americans as prisoners. Some were soldiers, some civilians, some missionaries. Negotiations for the release of these prisoners have been continuous for more than a year without satisfactory results. The Red Chinese are treating us contemptibly. It is impossible to deal with a nation that has no honor, no dignity, no truth. Until a new government, based on moral principles, comes into existence in Peking, there is no reason why we should deal with what is there now.

MR. Kennan says:

"... And to scratch around now among Communist regimes to establish relative degrees of iniquity, entitling some to membership and others not, is an undertaking for which I personally have no stomach ..."

BUT WE DO not need to scratch around for relative degrees of iniquity. The iniquity asserts itself and there are just some things that are intolerable in nations as they are in man. One of them is lying; another is arrogance. We know that Red China lied when her propagandists throughout the world spread the story of germ warfare. Some may shrug it off as a clever press agent's stunt. It was a lie, a deliberate, cold-blooded lie designed to picture the United States as a barbarous, inhuman nation.

I think that George Kennan misses the point altogether when he raises this question as

he did in this article in the Socialist magazine, The New Leader. The American people do not approve of Tito's dictatorship, or of Nasser's. Some Americans do not approve of Franco's monarchism. But in the case of Red China, the American attitude is not one of lack of approval; it is a matter of total rejection. That is why Congress has so often voted resolutions against the seating of Red China in the United Nations, threatening to withdraw the United States if Red China is admitted. There does not seem to be any moral alternative.

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161-281-39

F B I

Date: 3/23/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (161-153)

GEORGE FROST KENNAN  
SPIALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-9-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
# 410933

On 3/21/61, U. S. Senator HUGH SCOTT, Pa., advised SA [ ] he has never met the appointee and has only heard of him and read some of his writings. He added he does not feel he knows enough concerning the appointee to comment concerning him.

U. S. Senator JOSEPH S. CLARK, Pa., on 3/21/61 advised SA [ ] that he has never actually met appointee, although he has talked with him and has read some of his writings. He said that all he knows of appointee is favorable and he has a high regard for him.

All investigation by WFO completed.

RUC

③ - Bureau 2 cc destroyed  
1 - WFO *Indet/spd 5/19/61*

HEW:jmm  
(4)AIRTEL

161-281-41

NOT RECORDED

11 MAY 23 1961

Approved: *[Signature]*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7c

1 - Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Evans  
1 - Mr. Stanley  
1 - Mr. Cleveland  
1 - Mr. Morris  
1 - Mr. deBettencourt

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DATE 2-9-99 BY SP4 BJA/DFW  
#410933

April 6, 1961

BY COURIER SERVICE

Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. O'Donnell:

Reference is made to my letter dated March 21, 1961, which transmitted a summary memorandum containing the results of the investigation of Mr. George Frost Kennan, and which advised that additional inquiries were being conducted. Enclosed is a supplemental memorandum containing the results of the additional inquiries.

A copy of the enclosed supplemental memorandum is being furnished to the Secretary of State.

This concludes the investigation concerning Mr. Kennan.

Sincerely yours,

J. EDGAR HOOVER

BY COURIER SVC.

42 APR - 6

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Enclosure

REC'D-READING ROOM

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1 - Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Evans  
1 - Mr. Stanley  
1 - Mr. Cleveland  
1 - Mr. Morris  
1 - Mr. deBettencourt

April 6, 1961

BY COURIER SERVICE

The Honorable  
The Secretary of State  
Washington, D. C.

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DATE 2-11-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
# 410933

My dear Mr. Secretary:

Reference is made to my letter dated March 21, 1961, which transmitted a summary memorandum containing the results of the investigation of Mr. George Frost Kennan, and which advised that additional inquiries were being conducted. Transmitted herewith is a supplemental memorandum containing the results of the additional inquiries, a copy of which is being furnished to the Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell at the White House.

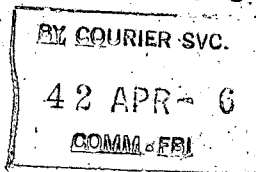
This concludes the investigation of Mr. Kennan.

Sincerely yours,

J. EDGAR HOOVER

Enclosure

See note, page 2.



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57 MAY 29 1961

REC-37

161-281-43

NOT RECORDED

11 MAY 23 1961

ENCLOSURE ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

NOTE:

Bureau letters to Mr. O'Donnell, White House, and the Secretary of State, both dated 3-21-61, transmitted summary memoranda dated 3-20-61 containing the results of the investigation of Kennan as requested by State Department. Kennan appointed Ambassador to Yugoslavia. Our investigation disclosed Kennan considered one of foremost experts on foreign relations with Soviet Union. Three individuals advised that they considered his policies toward Soviet Union as "too soft." Dean Acheson, former Secretary of State, advised he has known Kennan for many years and referred to 1958 criticism he made of Kennan after Kennan's statements recommending withdrawal of U.S. troops from Europe, hoping this would cause Soviets to withdraw their troops. Acheson commented he was compelled to criticize Kennan for fear our Allies would feel Kennan's statements reflected official views of Democratic Party. Others advised during the investigation Kennan highly qualified for position of Ambassador. Kennan's background was mainly in the field of our relations with Soviet Union and study of Russian culture and history. He retired from State Department 1953, after having been Ambassador to Soviet Union. From 1953 to his appointment as Ambassador to Yugoslavia in February, 1961, he was affiliated with Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey. Bureau letters to the Secretary of State and White House dated 3-21-61 advised additional inquiries were outstanding. These inquiries were interviews of Senators from Pennsylvania, Kennan's home state. These interviews have been conducted and neither Senator has met Mr. Kennan.

April 6, 1961

GEORGE FROST KENNAN

This memorandum supplements the summary memorandum dated March 20, 1961, which contained results of an investigation concerning Mr. Kennan.

Hugh Scott, United States Senator from Pennsylvania, was interviewed at Washington, D. C. Senator Scott advised he has never met Mr. Kennan, but has read some of his writings. Senator Scott said he does not feel he has sufficient knowledge concerning Mr. Kennan to comment about him.

Joseph S. Clark, United States Senator from Pennsylvania, was interviewed at Washington, D. C. Senator Clark advised he has never met Mr. Kennan, but has read some of his writings. Senator Clark advised that his knowledge of Mr. Kennan is favorable.

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II 410933

cc to Air Force  
by Liaison 11/30/64  
Referral/Consult

cc to [ ] 12/14/69  
by Liaison 12/14/69

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
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ENCLOSURE

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

161-281-43

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 11-7-63

FROM : M. A. Jones

Tolson ☒  
Belmont ☒  
Mohr ☒  
Casper ☒  
Callahan ☒  
Conrad ☒  
DeLoach ☒  
Evans ☒  
Gale ☒  
Rosen ☒  
Sullivan ☒  
Tavel ☒  
Trotter ☒  
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Gandy ☒

SUBJECT: ARTICLE ENTITLED "CONGRESSIONAL POLITICS  
HURT FOREIGN POLICY, KENNAN SAYS"  
WASHINGTON SUNDAY STAR  
NOVEMBER 3, 1963

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DATE 7-16-99 BY SP4 BJA/DFW  
# 410933

On a memorandum dated November 5th from Mr. Callahan to the Director, entitled "The Congressional Record," Mr. Hoover asked for an article captioned as above which appeared in "The Washington Star" on November 3rd. Undoubtedly, the Director has in mind the attached article by Bernard Gwertzman which deals with the views on our foreign policy expressed by George Frost Kennan, former U. S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia.

Gwertzman quotes Kennan as saying his tour of duty in Yugoslavia had been impaired by the havoc wreaked on U.S. foreign policy by congressional politics. He criticized the removal of Yugoslavia from a most-favored nation status "in the face of the most solemn and formal warnings and objections on my part, conveyed to congressional leaders on many occasions and in many ways." He felt Congress too often damaged our foreign policy by permitting domestic politics to rule instead of considering the national good. According to Gwertzman, Kennan said Congress was not the only body hampering State Department policy as there was also interference from other governmental agencies. He allegedly singled out the Immigration Service and the FBI for special criticism in the matter of passports, visas and re-entry permits, saying personnel of these two agencies have acted in ways contrary to the policy of the State Department regarding Yugoslavia. Gwertzman has Kennan saying that "many of the people (in the Immigration Service and the FBI) were going on the assumption that Yugoslavia was a member of the Soviet bloc, a thesis contrary to our own observations and to the established analysis of the department."

There is a possibility that Gwertzman actually based his article on one by J. Robert Moskin which is in the current issue of Look Magazine. (Copy attached) In this one Kennan referred to the FBI only one time when he said that "our form of Government is not well suited to making decisions." He says the reason for this is that "power is too much fragmented in Washington, including the Congress, the Armed Forces, the FBI--all the people who decide our national actions." Many of Kennan's conclusions set out in the Gwertzman article appear in the Moskin piece. Senator J. William Fulbright had the Moskin article reprinted in the 11-5-63 issue of The Congressional Record.

Kennan has had a somewhat stormy career with the State Department since he has never been hesitant to do battle for his very strong convictions. He opposed Democratic Secretary of State Dean Acheson's German policy and was fired by Republican Secretary of State John Foster Dulles for disagreeing with Dulles' talk of "liberating" Eastern Europe. Shortly after his appointment in 1952 as U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Kennan was declared persona non grata. This arose from the fact that upon his arrival in Berlin, Germany, en route from Moscow to the U.S. for consultation, he answered an inquiry from

Enclosures (2) *Detached from 11/12/63*  
HHA:cmk (4) *11/12/63* 9 DEC 12 1963



M. A. Jones to DeLoach memo

Re: ARTICLE, "CONGRESSIONAL POLITICS HURT FOREIGN POLICY, KENNAN SAYS"

a newspaperman about conditions in Moscow by publicly and unfavorably comparing his treatment by the Russians with his treatment by the Nazis while interned in Berlin. This so enraged the Russians that they demanded his immediate recall. Kennan retired in 1953 and, until his appointment to the post in Yugoslavia in 1961, he was connected with the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey.

Some of the controversial positions he has taken during his long foreign service career include the famous 1947 "containment" policy of preventing further Soviet expansion, approval for the admission of Red China into the United Nations and his advocacy of the withdrawal of all Allied troops from Europe. His current recommendation for the solution of what he terms the "failures" in America's foreign policy cannot help but arouse additional controversy. Kennan wants to raise the Secretary of State's Office to something "in the nature of a prime minister," giving external problems of the U.S. precedence over the internal ones so that "foreign policy should not be permitted to become a function of domestic-political convenience."

In 1947 Charles E. Bohlen, then Counselor for the State Department, said he never felt Kennan's "containment" policy was anything more than a description of the U.S. foreign policy as he had known it since the end of World War II. When Kennan said we should not try to obstruct the admission of Red China into the United Nations, in 1956, the Director expressed amazement that Kennan had apparently fallen for the Soviet line.

Kennan testified in the J. Robert Oppenheimer hearings that Oppenheimer intelligently helped him in Kennan's advisory position to the Secretary of State and that Oppenheimer had a great mind. Kennan also opposed supplying the North Atlantic Treaty Organization with missiles. During the FBI investigation of Kennan for his position as Ambassador to Yugoslavia, three individuals advised they considered his policies toward the Soviet Union as "too soft;" however, he received the unqualified endorsement of Dean Acheson, Charles Bohlen and W. Averell Harriman for the position.

Kennan has maintained cordial relations with the Bureau in the past and furnished helpful and pertinent material while he was with the State Department.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

*I suggest we have  
some one talk to  
Kennan and  
straighten him  
out*

*11-8*

*L*

- 2 -

*John T. GRC*  
*← yes. Send someone  
from here.*

*W.C. Sullivan saw  
Kennan 11-15-63 at  
Princeton WCS/djd*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 11/5/63

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages 19873-19874. Congressman Casey, (D) Texas, spoke concerning an article which appeared in the Washington Star for November 3rd entitled "Congressional Politics Hurt Foreign Policy, Kennan Says." Mr. Casey pointed out that the article deals with a memorandum submitted by Mr. George F. Kennan, former Ambassador to Yugoslavia, to a Senate committee which states that he (Kennan) is quite disturbed with congressional politics interfering with our foreign affairs and our foreign policy. Mr. Casey stated "I think Mr. Kennan should realize what every schoolboy knows: that the responsibility for legislation belongs to the Congress and that the Congress is the voice of the people of this United States. - - - I want to point out one other thing which the distinguished gentleman finds fault with, and that is that the State Department cannot overrule other executive departments. He finds fault with the Immigration Service, as well as the FBI. In other words, Mr. Kennan thinks that the State Department should be all superior, not only over other executive branches, but the legislative as well." The article stated "Mr. Kennan also charged that State Department policy was hampered by interference from other governmental agencies. He singled out the Immigration Service and the Federal Bureau of Investigation for special criticism in the matter of passports, visas, and reentry permits."

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NOT RECORDED

128 DEC 13 1963

Original filed in: 66-1731-242

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 11/4/63 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

MAILED

SEP 3 1964

NAME CHECK

September 2, 1964

*George Frost Kennan*  
**GEORGE F. KENNAN**  
Born: February 16, 1904  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

*Summary*

A review of the files of this Bureau reveals the following information which may pertain to captioned individual. In February and March, 1961, an applicant-type investigation concerning George Frost Kennan, born February 16, 1904, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was conducted by this Bureau. Results of this investigation were furnished to the White House in March and April, 1961. For results of this investigation, you are referred to the Office of the Honorable Walter W. Jenkins, Special Assistant to the President, the White House.

(161-281)

Original & 1-Army  
Request Received-8-25-64

EX-112  
REC-60

161-281-45  
NOT RECORDED  
19 SEP 4 1964

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NOTE: Kennan is the former United States Ambassador to Russia and Yugoslavia. He has been a career diplomat. He is currently at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey. Kennan's career has been somewhat stormy. Kennan testified in the J. Robert Oppenheimer hearings that Oppenheimer intelligently helped him in Kennan's advisory position to the Secretary of State and that Oppenheimer had a great mind. During the FBI investigation of Kennan regarding his position as Ambassador to Yugoslavia, three individuals advised they considered his policies toward the Soviet Union as "too soft"; however, he received the unqualified endorsement of Dean Acheson, Charles Bohlen and W. Averell Harriman. In 1956, when Kennan said we should not try to obstruct the admission of Red China to the United Nations, the Director expressed amazement that Kennan had apparently fallen for the Soviet line. Kennan has maintained cordial relations with the Bureau in the past and furnished helpful and pertinent material while he was with the State Department. In November, 1963,

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This is in answer to your request for a check of FBI files.

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84 SEP 14 1964

George F. Kennan

allegedly in an article which was entered into the Congressional Record, he singled <sup>out</sup> ~~with~~ INS and the FBI for special criticism in the <sup>nature</sup> ~~nature~~ of passports, visas, and re-entry permits saying personnel of these two agencies have acted in ways contrary to the policies of the State Department regarding Yugoslavia. Kennan allegedly also stated that many of the people (INS and FBI) were going on the assumption that Yugoslavia was a member of the Soviet bloc, a thesis contrary to his observations and to the established analysis of the Department (State). The Director agreed with Mr. Tolson that someone from the Bureau should talk to Kennan and straighten him out. On 11-15-63 Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan saw Kennan at Princeton.

SEARCH SLIP PARHAM ①

Subj: KENNAN, GEORGE 6118-1B

R# 43 Date 8-27 Searcher Number 328Prod: 7RAUG 28 1964  
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# 410933

## NUMEROUS REFERENCE

## SEARCH SLIP

Subj: KENNAN, GEORGE F.

Supervisor \_\_\_\_\_ Room \_\_\_\_\_

R# 43 Date 8-27 Searcher Initial 328Prod. 17RFILE NUMBER AUG 28 1964 SERIALGEORGE F.

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SL <sup>4</sup>	926
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<del>100</del>	AUG 31 1964
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<del>100</del>	157-758 - 41 EP. #25
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(3)

## NUMEROUS REFERENCE

## SEARCH SLIP

Subj: KENNAN, GEORGE F.Supervisor 4.3 Room \_\_\_\_\_R# \_\_\_\_\_ Date 8-27 Searcher Initial 328Prod. 9R AUG 28 1964

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

GEORGE FROST

(Bu)  
sum. 3/8/57.

100-420468 - 14 Ep. #100

121-13347 - 328 Ep #7-61

Vol. 6

sum. 12/7/56

I 161-281 -

39

sum  
3/20/61

I

43

sum  
4/6/61

GEORGE K.

(AKA)

109-237-A

THE EVENING STAR  
11/3/63

GEORGE

62-75450 - 148 Ep #9

100-153262 - 554 p #13

100-346268 - 962

100-427672 - 21

105-19600 - 121

105-49241- 249

AUG 31 1964

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MAILED

NOV 17 1964

NAME CHECK

November 13, 1964

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DATE 2-11-99 BY SP4BJA/DW

GEORGE F. KENNAN

Born: February 16, 1904

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

410933

A review of the files of this Bureau reveals the following information which may pertain to captioned individual. In February and March, 1961, an applicant-type investigation concerning George Frost Kennan, born February 16, 1904, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was conducted by this Bureau. Results of this investigation were furnished to the White House in March and April, 1961. For results of this investigation, you are referred to the Office of the Honorable Bill D. Moyers, Special Assistant to the President, the White House.

This reply is result of check of FBI investigative files. To check arrest records, request must be submitted to FBI Identification Division.

(161-281)

Original & 1

Request Received-11/10/64

JSP:ded

(4)

NOT RECORDED

Referral/Consult

NOTE: Kennan is the former United States Ambassador to Russia and Yugoslavia. He has been a career diplomat. He is currently at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey. Kennan's career has been somewhat stormy. Kennan testified in the J. Robert Oppenheimer hearings that Oppenheimer intelligently helped him in Kennan's advisory position to the Secretary of State and that Oppenheimer had a great mind. During the FBI investigation of Kennan regarding his position as Ambassador to Yugoslavia, three individuals advised they considered his policies toward the Soviet Union as "too soft"; however, he received the unqualified endorsement of Dean Acheson, Charles Bohlen and W. Averell Harriman. In 1956, when Kennan said we should not try to obstruct the admission of Red China to the United Nations, the Director expressed amazement that Kennan had apparently fallen for the Soviet line. Kennan has maintained cordial relations with the Bureau in the past and furnished helpful and pertinent material while he was with the State Department. In November, 1963, allegedly in an article which was entered into the Congressional Record, he singled out

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58 NOV 24 1964

George F. Kennan

INS and the FBI for special criticism in the matter of passports, visas, and re-entry permits saying personnel of these two agencies have acted in ways contrary to the policies of the State Department regarding Yugoslavia. Kennan allegedly also stated that many of the people (INA and FBI) were going on the assumption that Yugoslavia was a member of the Soviet bloc, a thesis contrary to his observations and to the established analysis of the Department (State). The Director agreed with Mr. Tolson that someone from the Bureau should talk to Kennan and straighten him out. On 11/15/63, Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan saw Kennan at Princeton. Reason for request not known.

AD 60-515

23 November 1964

GEORGE F. KERNAN  
DOB: 16 February 1904  
SPECIAL REQUEST

Honorable William D. Moyers  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

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DATE 8-3-99 BY SP4 BJA/DPW  
# 410933

Dear Mr. Moyers:

1. This District has been requested by Commandant, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, to obtain the results of the previous investigation conducted by FBI concerning the above individual who has been nominated to attend a special course at the Air War College.
2. Officials of the FBI have advised that in February and March, 1961 an applicant-type investigation was conducted concerning GEORGE FROST KERNAN and that the results were furnished to the White House in March and April, 1961. These officials have referred us to your office for authority to release the reports of investigation to the Air Force.
3. Your cooperation in authorizing the FBI to release its investigative reports to this District Office will be appreciated.

FOR THE COMMANDER

*[Signature]*  
S. F. SMITH  
Chief, National Agency  
Checks Division

66 DEC 9 1964

161-281

161-281/4/8

NOT RECORDED

DEC 7 1964

*File 9*

*[Handwritten signature]*

MAILED

JAN 8 1965

NAME CHECK

January 7, 1965

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DATE 7-19-99 BY SP4 BJA/DFW

II 410933

GEORGE F. KENNAN - *See memo*  
Born: February 16, 1904  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

In response to your name check request, you are advised that an applicant-type investigation concerning the captioned person was conducted by the FBI in February and March, 1961, and the results were furnished to the White House. At the request of the White House, you are referred to the Office of the Honorable Lee C. White, Associate Counsel to the President, should you desire the detailed results of this investigation.

(161-281)

Original & 1-ONI

Request Received-12-28-64

ALF:bss

(2)

NOTE: Reason: Global Strategy Conference to be held in early 1965.

This reply is result of check of FBI investigative files. To obtain arrest records request must be submitted to FBI Identification Division.

ONI requested a search for main files only and advised that copies of investigative reports only of results of investigation were requested.

Kennan is the former United States Ambassador to Russia and Yugoslavia. He has been a career diplomat. He is currently at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey. Kennan's career has been somewhat stormy. Kennan testified in the J. Robert Oppenheimer hearings that Oppenheimer intelligently helped him in Kennan's advisory position to the Secretary of State and that Oppenheimer had a great mind. During the FBI investigation of Kennan regarding his position as Ambassador to Yugoslavia, three individuals advised they considered his policies toward the Soviet Union as "too soft"; however, he received the unqualified endorsement of Dean Acheson, Charles Bohlen, and W. Averell Harriman. In 1956, when Kennan said he should not try to obstruct the admission of Red China to the United Nations, the Director expressed amazement that Kennan had

REC-101 161-281-49  
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JAN 11 1965

(See Note Page 2)

64 JAN 14 1965

George F. Kennan

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EX 110

REC- 38161-281-5

October 12, 1965

[Redacted]  
Coffeyville, Kansas

Dear [Redacted]:

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DATE 2-1-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
# 410933

Oct 11 3 44 PM '65  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
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Your letter of October 3rd, with enclosure, has been received.

With respect to your inquiry, it is contrary to my long-standing policy to comment on material not prepared by personnel of this Bureau. Further, the FBI does not issue clearances or nonclearances of any type. Therefore, I am certain you will understand why I cannot comment as you have suggested. You may be assured, however, that the data contained in my book, "Masters of Deceit," is just as valid today as when it was written.

In connection with these issues, perhaps you may wish to read my latest book, "A Study of Communism," which is a comprehensive study of the development and expansion of communism throughout the world. A copy may be available at your local library.

Enclosed is some literature it is hoped will be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (2)

Our Heritage of Greatness

Excerpt from FBI Appropriations Testimony 3/4/65 on CPUSA

1 - Kansas City - Enclosure

DTP:dls (4) See note next page.

MAILED 32  
OCT 12 1965  
COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

50 OCT 19 1965

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

[REDACTED]

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. His enclosure pertains to former Ambassador Kennan's article, "The Right Way to Counter Communism." This is a treatise on the subject of "anti-communism" pointing out that it is a fallacy in current times to label every form of government that is opposed to our form of government as communist, and that we should broaden our vision and label these other ideologies in their true sense, and points out that whoever "tries to make anti-communism into a political or ethical philosophy is addressing himself to the past, and points out that other problems of the world such as nuclear science, overpopulation, etc., are problems to be considered and cannot be answered by 'anti-communism.'" Correspondent enclosed a copy of Kennan's article and drew attention to Kennan's remark that the American Communist Party has been reduced to a negligible state. This point is diametrically opposed to the FBI's position concerning the threat and menace of communism in the United States. For this reason it is felt that Kennan's article should be refuted as has been proposed by the above reply.

[Redacted]  
October 3, 1965

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I will appreciate your advising whether or not there is any justification for one to be concerned about the inclosed article, "The Right Way to Counter Communism", which was published in the Presbyterian Life magazine dated July 15, 1965.

The article in my opinion is quite contradictory to articles in the American Legion publication of the "Firing Line", and also your book entitled "Masters of Deceit".

Is your office at liberty to state whether or not the author has complete security clearance? Thank you.

Yours truly,

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

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DATE 2-11-99 BY SP4BJA/DFW  
#410933

EX 110

REC-38

128  
OCT 13 1965

161-281-5  
25 OCT 13 1965

COMPLIANCE

ask 10/11/65 DTP:ced/dls



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#410933

ENCLOSURE

161-281-51

In 1952 Ambassador Kennan was forced to leave Soviet Union when remarks he allegedly made offended Russians. Below, he arrives in Frankfurt, Germany, railway station.

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# 410933

# The Right Way to

## Counter Communism

by George F. Kennan

I SUPPOSE it's only fair that I should be asked to lead a discussion of "the ethics of anti-communism." The last thirty-seven years of my life have been preoccupied mostly, in one way or another, with the problem of international communism. And it seems to me that I have stood pretty much in the center of the brickbats that fly back and forth in this connection. I have a respectable collection of abusive and sometimes unprintable letters from people who think that I haven't been anti-communist enough. On the other hand, I am one of the few Americans who have had the distinction of being thrown out of Stalin's Russia on charges of being too anti-Soviet. And I can remember a certain week, in 1950, when the walls of Rio de Janeiro were decorated with hundreds of great tar inscriptions saying: "To death with Kennan." These were inscriptions put there by the local communists. I was buried repeatedly in effigy at that time, incidentally, by Brazilian communist students, who did me the moving courtesy of putting a

white cross on the little black coffin they used for this purpose.

Nobody can be blamed for being exercised about international communism. There has been plenty to be exercised about. I think a healthy capacity for moral indignation is essential to understanding what communism is all about. In our Embassy in Moscow, when we got a new young officer assigned to us who had been trained in the Russian language, if, on first confrontation with the Soviet newspapers in the morning, he didn't rise from his desk and go storming around the office saying, "Look what these so-and-so's have said today!"—if he didn't do this, he was no good to us. It was a case where you had first to be capable of getting angry in order to understand what was up; and then you had to learn to control your anger.

The Soviet leaders obviously do not wish us well. Their ideology forbids them to do so. If they had their way, little would remain, I am sure, of our world position or of the things we value here at home.

JULY 15, 1965



But despite all this, I must say that I find the term "anti-communism" a very misleading one.

First of all, if you are going to talk, today, about anti-communism, you have to begin by answering the question: anti-whose-communism? Karl Marx's, or Lenin's, or Stalin's, or Mao's, or Gomulka's, or even Tito's, since he himself insists on using the term? These are by no means identical. Not even the communists themselves pretend any longer that they are. If all you say is that you are "against communism," you haven't made yourself very clear. You cannot simply say, "I am against them all," because in some respects the various outlooks that go by the name of communism are not just different but are actually in conflict with each other, so that you can't be against one of them in all its aspects without being, by implication, in favor of another one in those same aspects.

Suppose, then, you pick a certain communist country—let us say the Soviet Union—and say, "When I talk about anti-communism, it is this country I mean and it is the communism of this country I am against." But there are two things you could have in mind when you express yourself in this way: One, the present reality of the Soviet system with its internal institutions and practices; the way the regime treats its own citizens, and so on. Or, two, its external behavior: things it does on the world scene which affect adversely our interests and those of world peace, and which strike us as unjust or deceitful or aggressive.

Now these two things are not the same. We may not like the internal practices and institutions of the Soviet system, but so long as they don't have external effects that damage our interest, they are not really our business. Unless we have such dreams of grandeur that we picture ourselves as fit to rule the world, which I think very few of us do, then the golden rule is obviously going to apply here: We must agree to let Russians be Russians, and not try to substitute our conscience for theirs.

Perhaps you simply like to use the term "anti-communism" to record your abhorrence of the theory and practice of government which you understand to prevail in Russia. You can't mean, surely, that you are against *all* the institutions and practices of the Soviet system. There are a great many things that take place under the authority of, and in the name of, that system that are not all reprehensible: Schools are taught, people heal the sick, scientists pursue the quest for knowledge. Perhaps these things serve communism to some degree; the regime has often tried to make them do so. But this is not all they serve. Teachers teach, as they do here, because this is their pride and their profession and they feel it important that young people should be taught. Doctors heal for similar reasons. And scientists pursue their research because, like scientists everywhere, they have learned the nobility and the excitement of the quest for knowledge.

Obviously, it is not *all* features of communism that

we are against—only certain ones. But the ~~sworn~~ term "anti-communism" does not suggest this.

And if we take just those things that we do definitely dislike in a communist system—such things as governmental hypocrisy, denial of civil liberties, the deliberate use of the big lie, automatic abuse and denigration of fallen statesmen—then we have to recognize that it is not in communist countries alone that such things are to be found; nor are they made any worse, just because they go under the banner of communism. Yet this, too, the term "anti-communism" does not suggest. It is, in fact, definitely misleading in this case, because it seems to carry the implication that we think these evils are confined to a single political system in a single part of the world, and that all other civilizations are wholly immune to them.

But suppose we turn for a moment to that aspect of international communism about which we do have a right to protest: to the behavior of communist regimes as actors on the world scene. Here again, we come up against great variations among communist governments. We have our problems with the Yugoslav government, but I am here to testify, after just spending two and a half years in that country, that the way it conducts itself in international affairs is as different from the conduct of the Chinese Communists, or of Yugoslavia's Albanian neighbors, as night is from day. The attitudes taken towards us by such diverse regimes as say the Soviet one, the Cuban, the Chinese, the Hungarian, and the Polish represent quite different problems for U.S. policy. To try to sum up our response to all of them by saying that our policy is one of "anti-communism" is simply not meaningful.

I can think of certain non-communist governments whose behavior towards us and towards the international community generally in recent years has been by no means superior to that of certain communist governments I could name. Do we really wish, by using the term "anti-communist," to obscure all this; to leave the implication that falsehood, malice, cantankerousness, irresponsibility, territorial expansionism, and aggressive behavior either do not exist in the behavior of non-communist states or are reprehensible only when they go by the name of communism? If not, why use the term "anti-communist"? Why not be specific? Why not oppose these phenomena, as such, wherever we encounter them?

Now how about anti-communism as a term relating to political forces within our own national life?

Never strong in membership or even in voter support, the American Communist Party nevertheless gained considerable moral influence, especially in intellectual circles, during the 1930's. This was primarily a result of the shattering effect of economic crisis and the loss of confidence in established American values which that crisis occasioned. The communists were greatly aided by their ability to identify at that time with anti-fascist groups generally, particularly in the

case of the Spanish Civil War. They capitalized extensively on the revulsion to fascism which swept over the liberal West.

With the development of the so-called cold war in the late 1940's, the strength and influence of the American Communist Party began to decline rapidly. Even at the time of the anti-communist hysteria in the early 1950's, it already was a very minor force in our society. Today it is a tiny and pathetic little band of people embracing, I suppose, not much more than five thousand members, if that, or something less than one hundredth part of one per cent of our adult population. It is no exaggeration to say that the influence of the American Communist Party today in our society is negligible. If you were to comb the country, you would have a hard time finding a less influential group.

I have had many occasions, in the past 40 years, to know and observe people who are communists. Some of them were indeed brutal, treacherous and dangerous people. But others were idealists: people acting out of the deepest bewilderment and despair and misguided courage and desire to find the right answer. I must confess to you that deeply as I have disagreed with these people, and profoundly as I have deplored the methods and tactics to which they were led to subscribe, there have been many instances where I have had more respect for them, in all their error and all their hopelessness, than for many pillars of respectable American society, vegetating in the smugness and selfishness and superficiality of their particular brand of philistinism.

To err, as we all know, is only human; and there is not one of us who does not do it with the greatest of regularity. To err with courage, with conviction, with self-sacrifice, and out of the agony of the soul, can at least be said to be tragic. But to err out of cowardice, of complacency, of jealousy, of vindictiveness or of greed, has not even this to be said for it; and I am not

prepared to believe that error of this sort is any more acceptable in the sight of God just because it clothes itself in "anti-communism."

The Marxist-Leninist ideology was based on some serious misconceptions; and the methodology embraced by its adherents, under Lenin and Stalin, was in many respects evil and inexcusable. But no movement of our time, I am sorry to say, has more to show in the way of dedication, hard work, and selflessness, than does the movement that goes by the Leninist-Marxist name. We should not forget this; and when it comes to the American Communist Party, in particular, we should not be too self-righteous in our condemnation of men who have been made what they are by the stamp of circumstances—and circumstances, in many instances, for which every one of us in my generation, at least, bears a share of the blame.

Now there are many people who, when they use the term "anti-communism," have in mind not the little American Communist Party of this day but a whole variety of tendencies and conditions they associate with the word communism: tendencies and conditions supported by far wider circles than just the members of the Communist Party: such things as the increase in the powers of the central government, the high degree of paternalism which seems to them to be reflected in the existing social-security arrangements and other programs of social benefit, an inadequate degree of military aggressiveness in foreign policy, absence of demonstrative patriotic fervor, and so on. And to this I would just like to say that these are of course views you can hold: these tendencies and conditions do exist in our society, for better or for worse, and it is perfectly all right for an American citizen to be against them, if this is the way he sees things. But what all this has to do with communism is not apparent.

Communists, it is true, can be construed as being  
(Continued on page 38)

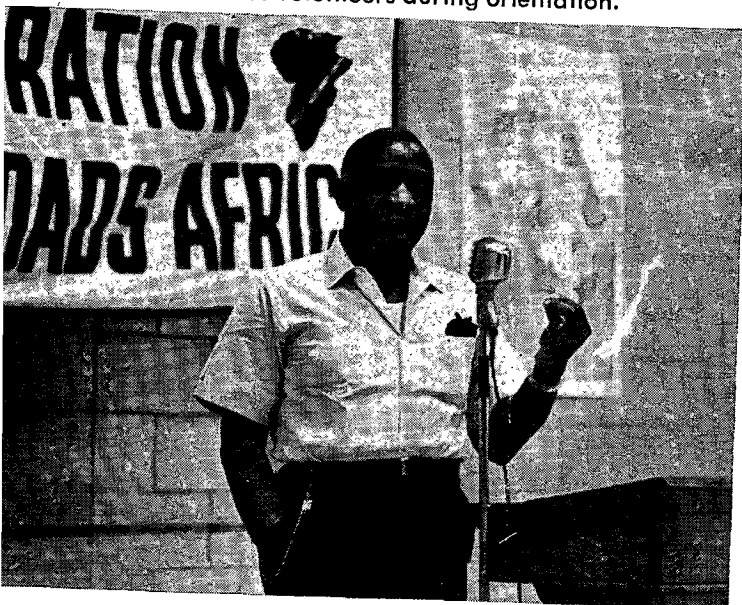
Soviet-American cultural relations: Edward Steichen and Carl Sandburg visit Moscow during exposition there.



# Operation Crossroads Africa

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Dr. addresses volunteers during orientation.



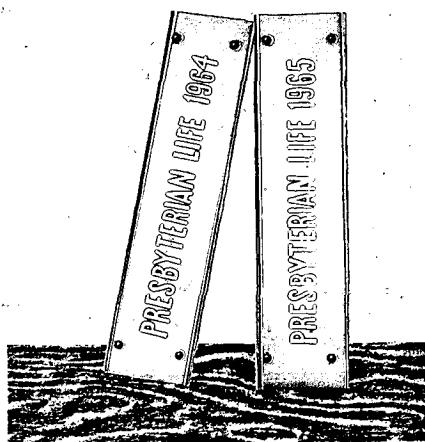
photographs by James A. Foote

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## THE RIGHT WAY TO COUNTER COMMUNISM

(Continued from page 7)

in favor of these things to some degree, but no more so than millions of other people; and to suggest that all of these tendencies in our society—most of which, to the extent they have been realized at all, have been realized through the operation of our democratic processes, and largely by act of Congress—are simply the result of some refined and diabolic Communist intrigue, by means of which tens of thousands of influential citizens, government servants, and legislators are affected without knowing it, is not only to propagate a preposterous absurdity, but it is also to do a profound disservice to the national cause.

In individual psychology the sense of being the innocent victim of unseen conspiratorial forces is often the beginning of, and a symptom of, mental illness. In political life it is the beginning of totalitarianism, which is only a form of mass psychosis: the social equivalent of mental illness. So true is this, and so dangerous are the consequences of yielding to this sort of escapism, that one ought to reject such suggestions even when the available evidence might seem to support them. I cannot warn too strongly those of you who are students against associating yourselves, ever, with the suggestion that your personal troubles or those of the society to which you belong are attributable only to dimly-sensed conspiratorial forces, wholly external to yourselves, beyond your power of comprehension or influence, whose hostility you have done nothing to deserve. To accept such suggestions is a sure path to irrationality, to illusion, and to disaster.

Evil is an omnipresent substance of human life: around us and within us as well as without us. In a way, it is all of a piece, just as love and truth are all of a piece. When we struggle against it we must always regard that struggle as in part an overcoming of self. We cannot for this reason identify ourselves self-righteously with all that is good and clothe whatever opposes us in the colors of unmitigated evil. But this we tend to do when we try to make out of an impermanent semantic symbol, such as "anti-communism," the expression of a personal and political philosophy.

We all have in mind the events that have taken place in Moscow in the re-

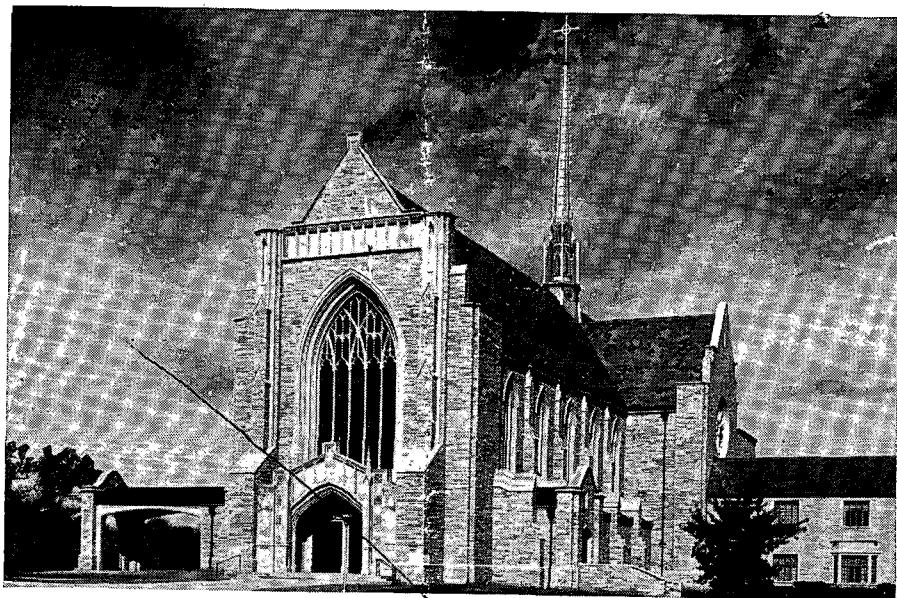
cent past. They have constituted in effect a third great crisis in the transfer of personal power from one set of hands to another in the history of a regime which has no adequate constitutional means of achieving such a transition. I have naturally had to think about this, and I have talked with friends, who, like myself have spent many years in the study of Russian communism. All of us, I think, have the impression that this recent series of events really marks the end of an epoch. It marks the final fading, as a political reality, of that aura of excitement and inspiration and authority which Moscow was able to radiate in the wake of the Russian Revolution of 1917, over restless, discontented elements in the western world.

Russia remains today a great power, as she was before 1917. She remains a problem to us as she would have been before 1917 had we then been an active participant in world affairs. But the importance of Moscow as a source of inspiration and authority for the communist parties of the West, and even for the communist parties now in power in Eastern Europe, has been extensively and probably decisively shattered.

Whoever, then, tries to make anti-communism into a political or ethical philosophy is addressing himself to the past. He is talking about things that were, not things that are. This is, as we all know, an unbelievably endangered world in which we live. The ultimate problems created by nuclear science and by overpopulation—by man's new-found ability to destroy his habitat entirely or to make it intolerable by multiplying himself within it beyond the point of endurance—stare us in the face. To neither of these problems does mere anti-communism even suggest an answer; and the morbid preoccupation with this term can scarcely be explained otherwise than as the reflection either of an inability to free one's self from the anxieties, the seizures, or the nightmares of the past, or a lack of the requisite manliness to face the reality of the present, I think it is high time that we, all of us, threw off these shackles, emancipated ourselves from the power of vague semantic symbols, and turned our faces resolutely, with all the realism and the honesty we can muster, to the problems of the present and the future.

Reprinted from **UNIVERSITY:**  
 A *Princeton Quarterly*, Spring 1965.  
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15-182-797



## Gifts Make College Possible For Seventy-four Young People

In these pages a year ago there appeared an article, "Churches Asked to Help Send Needy Young Persons to College." Since a number of congregations and even a few individuals—fifty one, actually—responded to the suggestion in that article and a similar one in *Monday Morning*, we think it appropriate to give a report of progress.

The fifty-one churches and other donors contributed a total of \$6,708. These funds were added to the \$10,000 appropriated by the Commission on Religion and Race and the \$20,000 appropriated by the Board of Christian Education from its share of the denomination's General Mission money. The total assisted seventy-three Negroes and one American Indian with grants of \$150 to \$750 (average grant \$496).

None of these young people, with perhaps two exceptions, even dreamed of college as a possibility when they were high-school sophomores. Even if they had, they would have been unable to qualify for college. What turned the trick was attendance at the Summer Study Skills Program of the Board of National Mission's Educational Counseling Service. Through that remarkable tutorial program of six weeks' duration, each had been fired with the possibility of a college education and given the skills and professional guidance to obtain admission to an accredited institution.

Not one had failed or dropped out at the end of the first semester. The

second semester's results are not in at this writing. One or two are on quite shaky ground. Will they make it? We don't know yet. But one statistic gives us confidence. Of the 228 "graduates" of the Summer Study Skills Program who are now in college as freshman, sophomores, juniors, and seniors, only eight have had to drop out. They dropped out for family reasons, entrance into military service, or other reasons beyond their control. None was a dropout for academic reasons.

And what about 1965-66? Again, we have \$30,000—\$15,000 from the Commission on Religion and Race and \$15,000 from the Board of Christian Education. The donor churches and others have promised \$2,380 of the \$34,575 needed to keep last year's students in college this year. We believe the balance needed will yet come in.

**Church links missions to building program.** When First Presbyterian Church of Oklahoma City decided to erect its new \$800,000 sanctuary, they added \$200,000 for aiding the building programs of mission enterprises in the U.S. and overseas. To date, pastor C. Ralston Smith reports the church has expended nearly \$85,000 for the following: \$8,000 for an isolation ward at the hospital in Dembi Dollo, Ethiopia; \$50,000 for building a library chapel at the theological seminary in Seoul, Korea; \$12,500 toward a science-chapel building at Pikeville (Kentucky) College; \$7,000 for an agricultural center at Boggs Academy, Keysville, Georgia; and \$5,200 for physiotherapy and surgical equipment for Presbyterian Hospital, Taegu, Korea. More funds will be expended, says Dr. Smith, as pledges are fulfilled.

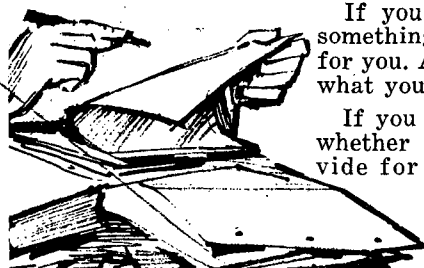
But with no new money, no new freshmen can be helped to enter college this fall. They keep applying just the same. At the moment, we have nine applicants whose needs total \$13,827. Aid from the colleges will reduce the need in each case, but not enough to enable the student to enter without a

A bonus for those who work with the Opportunity Scholars is the letters of appreciation which are received. One student wrote: "Again I would like to thank you for all you have done for me. I am sure many fellows like myself need only one chance. I have really gained a lot from the experience of being a college student. I hope someday I will be able to do the things for younger boys and girls that you are doing for me."

—WILMINA ROWLAND

Director, Educational Loans and Scholarships  
Board of Christian Education

## Do You Have a Will? Is It Up-to-Date? Does it include the CHURCH?



If you don't have a Will of your own when something happens, the State makes one of sorts for you. And the State rarely sees eye to eye with what you would like.

If you already have made a Will, ask yourself whether it should be brought up-to-date to provide for changes in your family or financial situation and to include the Church. A new informative booklet about Wills is yours free for the asking. Send for it today. Write to: PL192.

**UNITED PRESBYTERIAN FOUNDATION**  
475 Riverside Drive New York, N.Y. 10027



~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 05-21-2012

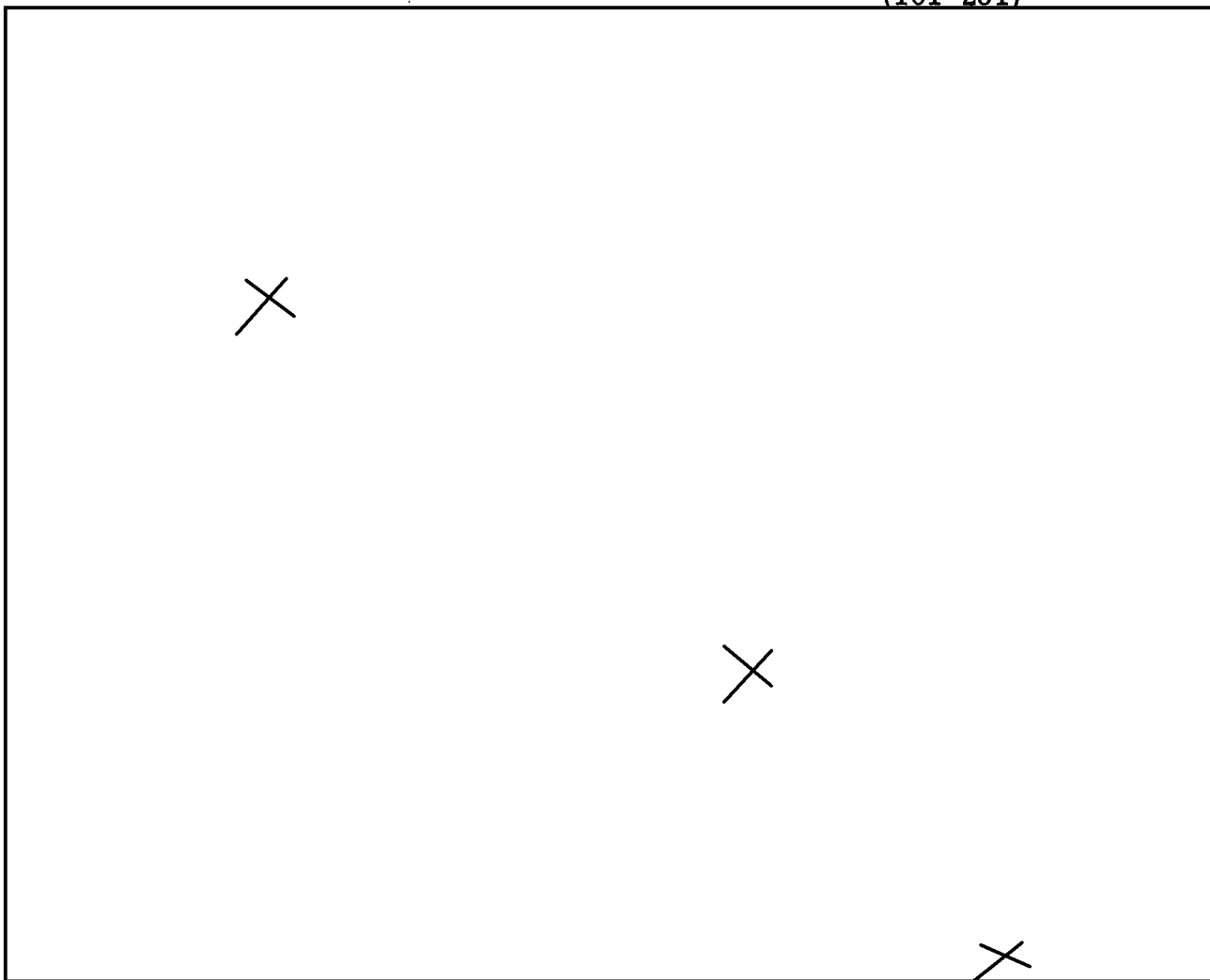
~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

July 14, 1970

MR. AND MRS. GEORGE F. KENNAN

*Summary*  
Mr. George F. Kennan, who you advised is a former United States Ambassador and currently resides in Princeton, New Jersey, was the subject of an applicant-type investigation conducted by the FBI in 1961. The results of that investigation were summarized in communications dated March 20, 1961, and April 6, 1961, copies of which are attached. (161-281)

b7D



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JCF:mcb (7)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~SECRET~~

Group 1 excluded from automatic  
downgrading the declassification

See NOTE -  
Page 2

ENCLOSURE

161-281-52

(62-81548-33)



~~SECRET~~

Mr. and Mrs. George F. Kennan

The central files of the FBI reveal no additional pertinent information concerning captioned individuals.

The fingerprint files of the Identification Division of the FBI contain no arrest data identifiable with captioned individuals based upon background information submitted in connection with this name check request.

Enclosures (6)

NOTE: Per request of Alexander P. Butterfield, Deputy Assistant to the President. Memorandum being classified "Secret" because information contained therein was received from a highly sensitive source.

- 2 -

~~SECRET~~

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Records BranchD #1  
D

7/7

1970

☐ Name Searching Unit - Room 6527  
☐ Service Unit - Room 6524  
☐ Forward to File Review  
☐ Attention \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ Return to \_\_\_\_\_  
 Supervisor Room Ext.

## Type of References Requested:

☒ Regular Request (Analytical Search)  
☒ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)  
☐ Subversive References Only  
☐ Nonsubversive References Only  
☒ Main + Summary References Only

## Type of Search Requested:

☐ Restricted to Localities of JUL 7 1970  
☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)  
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations

Subject

Kennan, George F.

Birthdate &amp; Place

2/16/104 wis

Address

146 Hodge Rd.PRINCETON, N.J. (front)

Localities

R#

660

Date

7/70

Searcher Initials

531

Prod.

12

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

✓	I	9-40414	
✓	I	62-81548	
✓	I	95-37021	
✓	I	161-281	
✓	I	62-81548-26	Summary 7/22/57
✓	I	161-281-45	Summary 9/2/64
✓	I	-47 "	11/17/64
✓	I	-49 "	1/7/65
		<u>George Frost (hus)</u>	
✓	I	100-0420468-14	Summary 3/18/57
✓	I	161-281-39	Summary 3/20/61
✓	I	-43 "	9/6/61
✓	I	-45 "	9/2/64

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-27-99 BY

SP4 BJA/DW

D 410933

JUL 7 1970

reps on aka's not listed

~~SECRET~~

CORRELATION SUMMARY

Main File No: 161-281  
See Also: 9-40414  
62-81548  
95-37021

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

Date:

9-27-99

CLASSIFIED BY

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

Date Searched:

4/14/70

Subject: George Frost Kennan  
One Keenan\*

per Teller dated 5-23-01  
SP4 BJA/DFW 8-20-02

All logical variations of subject's name and aliases were searched and identical references were found as:

SUMMARY

Kennan, George Frost  
Cannon, George  
Keenan, George  
Keenan, George F.  
Keenan, George Frost  
Kenan, George  
Kennan, One  
Kennan, George  
Kennan, George E.

Kennan, George F.  
Kennan, George K.  
Kennan, George P.  
Kennan, Georges F.  
Kennant, George  
Kennan, George  
Kennon, George  
Kennon, George F.  
Kennon, George Frost

Also searched as Kennan, G. F. See page 61 of summary.

This is a summary of information obtained from a review of all "see" references to the subject in Bureau files under the names and aliases listed above. All references under the above names containing data identical with the subject have been included except any indicated at the end of this summary under the heading REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY. References indicated in the block as SI contain the same information as the foregoing serial although the information may have been received from a different source.

THIS SUMMARY HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR USE AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AND IS NOT SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION. IT IS DESIGNED TO FURNISH A SYNOPSIS OF THE INFORMATION SET OUT IN EACH REFERENCE, AND IN MANY CASES THE ORIGINAL SERIAL WILL CONTAIN THE INFORMATION IN MORE DETAIL.

Analyst

Coordinator

MCT

Approved

ENS:mci

\*Not completely searched. See page 59 of search. MAR 28 1971

6 AUG 3 1971  
ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

CONSOL

ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE-SEARCH SLIPS ONLY

ABBREVIATIONS

~~SECRET~~

Add. info.....Additional information appearing in  
this reference which pertains to  
George Frost Kennan can be found in  
the main file or elsewhere in this  
summary. This information may have  
been received from a different source.

IAS.....Institute of Advanced Study

IPR.....Institute of Pacific Relations

[REDACTED]

b7D

SISS.....Senate Internal Security Subcommittee

UN.....United Nations

USDS.....US Department of State

USSR.....Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

WDC.....Washington, DC

WFO.....Washington Field Office

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

RELATIVE WHO HAS BUREAU MAIN FILE

The relationship and August, 1961 whereabouts of George Frost Kennan were set forth in a serial of the main file on [REDACTED] as follows:

b6  
b7c

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

105-141089-2 ep.4

(19)

\*\*\*\*\*

The personnel file of Anthony Barrett (65-12906) maintained at the State Department, WDC, included a Department memorandum dated 12/8/37, setting forth the statement: "Kennan instinctively mistrusted Barrett". Kennan was identified as formerly attached to the Embassy at Moscow, Russia. Also included was a letter from Barrett, dated 6/28/38, addressed to George F. Kennan, advising that he was desirous of obtaining a position at San Jose, Costa Rica. (No further details.)

65-12906-14 p.2,3  
(6)

[REDACTED] (61-11246) went to work [REDACTED] at the American Embassy in Berlin, Germany and gave George F. Kennan, First Secretary of the Embassy, as a reference. ([REDACTED])  
[REDACTED] - protect identity.)

b7D

61-11246-1 ep.1  
(4)

John Paul Milan Marsalka (100-41433), who had been employed at the American Embassy, Moscow, Russia during the period, 5/14/34-11/17/39, took the stand in his own behalf during 4/30-5/3/43 Civil Service Commission (CSC) hearings in WDC when he sought reinstatement as an economist in the Department of Agriculture. Marsalka named George Cannon of the Embassy Staff as one of his associates in Moscow.

Files of CSC, WDC  
100-41433-28 p.32  
(54)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

On 6/5/55, H. Francis Cunningham, Jr., Foreign Service Officer, USDS, was interviewed at the Army War College, Ft. Lesley J. McNair, WDC. Cunningham advised that around July 1941, Andre Gellert (65-62842), Vice Consul, US Embassy, Berlin, Germany, told him that he had some important information which he wanted to turn over to the US authorities at the Embassy. Accordingly, Cunningham made arrangements for Gellert to have lunch with George F. Kennan, Head of the Political Section of the Embassy. On this occasion Gellert advised Kennan of Japan's intentions of going to war against the US.

65-62842-29 p.2  
(7)

This reference is a Bermuda Censorship (62-63146) report on the Eastbound "Atlantic Clipper" which arrived on 9/12/42 and departed the same day. This report indicated that George Frost Kennan of the USA, accompanied by his wife, was proceeding to Portugal as Counsellor to the US Legation, Lisbon.

62-63146-2856 p.2  
(18)

Bureau memo dated 7/10/43 carried as enclosures documents relating to Clayton E. Booker (100-207486), former clerk in the Office of the Military Attache, Lisbon, Portugal who had been discharged for insubordination on 5/6/43. A Dispatch dated 6/6/43, from the American Minister in Lisbon to the US Secretary of State, set forth some of the principal facts of this matter and indicated that Mr. Kennan, Counselor of the Legation, had reported Booker's activities in the Fall of 1942, and in April, 1943 had asked the Military Attache to conduct an investigation.

An article prepared by Booker entitled, "A Study in Intrigue, Lisbon, 1941-1943", dated 6/2/43, in discussing activities at the American Legation in Lisbon, referred to Col. Solborg and Kennan both aiming for leadership in intelligence activities and to British influence over the American Legation and "close collaboration" of Kennan with Gladhill. (Further details.)

According to this memo, George Kennan, First Secretary and Counselor of the Legation in Portugal, had returned to Washington and had brought with him microfilm of the article, "A Study in Intrigue". According to Kennan, this article was extremely biased and facts therein grossly distorted. Kennan advised, however, that much of the information Booker claimed to have obtained from an informant in Mr.

(continued)

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(continued)

Gladhill's Office in the British Embassy in Lisbon, was true. Kennan commented that the entire affair was more embarrassing to the British Embassy than it was to the American Legation or the Military and Financial Attaches.

Copies of documents enclosed, as  
made available by State Department  
100-207486-2 p.1; ep.1,2,5;  
ep.43-45,49,52-58,  
60-65,67-69

(29)

Mrs. Russell Wilcox, 4732 North Cumberland Boulevard, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, during an interview on 7/21/43, advised that during the Summer of 1940, Helen Olga Maria Roe (100-20461), with her husband, visited the Wilcoxs at their summer home in Northern Wisconsin, at which time Mrs. Wilcox introduced Roe to George Cannon who was then Second Secretary in the American Embassy in Berlin and now was attached to the American Embassy in Lisbon. Mrs. Wilcox said she felt that since Cannon had spent much time in Berlin the two would have much in common.

100-20461-22 p.2  
(54)

On 11/13/47, Umberto Caradossi (65-31872) contacted the Philadelphia Office, advising that he was concerned because an investigation was being conducted by the Bureau relative to his activities. Caradossi pointed out that he had not been in sympathy with Mussolini and the Fascist Movement in Italy. He said he had expressed his feelings in this connection in correspondence which he had directed to Stephen Early, Secretary to the late President Roosevelt. The first of these letters had been written about November, 1942 and thereafter at intervals until March, 1944. Caradossi advised that these letters had been forwarded to the American Legation in Lisbon. Caradossi advised that he had spoken to George Cannon, Charge d' Affaires, Lisbon, Portugal, who was familiar with his activities and Cannon had put him in touch with Dennis A. Flinn, legal attache, American Legation in Lisbon.

65-31872-35 p.2  
(52)

(continued)

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(continued)

Correlator's Note: Further review of the aforementioned file disclosed that prior to the Italian Armistice on 9/8/43, Cardossi asked for and received an interview with George Frost Kennan, then Charge d' Affaires of the American Legation at Lisbon, Portugal, at which time he offered his services to the US. (See 65-31872-32 p.2.)

The book "Behind The Iron Curtain" by George Moorad (100-348137), published by Fireside Press, Inc. in 1946, carried an article captioned "Coup d' Etat in Bucharest". This article revealed that on 9/12/44 in Moscow, an armistice agreement was signed between the governments of the United States of America, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom on the one hand, and the government of Rumania on the other. George Kennan, Charge d' Affaires, signed for the US.

Book enclosed  
100-348137-23 ep.172  
(30)

The State Department advised that in a letter dated 4/14/45 from George F. Kennan, Moscow, to R. B. Macatee, Assistant Chief, Division of Foreign Service Personnel, Kennan discussed Waldo Ruess, who had been employed at the American Embassy in Moscow since early June 1944. In this letter Kennan advised that Ruess' work had been satisfactory, although his attitude was not what it could be; also that Ruess had an exaggerated idea of his own importance and was not popular with other members of the staff.

100-342972-2086  
(9)

The NY Office furnished information regarding Eugeni Semenovitch Kirpichnikov who entered the US on 6/13/45 at Brooklyn, NY aboard the S.S. Mahanoy City Victory. He carried an identification letter dated 4/20/45 signed by George F. Kennan, American Embassy, Moscow, to the Chief Customs Officer, stating that Kirpichnikov was a diplomatic courier of the Soviet Embassy. Kennan also identified Kirpichnikov's wife and infant daughter.

100-308748-585  
(9)

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USDS furnished a letter from George F. Kennan, Charge d' Affaires ad interim, Moscow, dated 5/7/45 and directed to that Department, regarding foreign representatives in the Soviet Union. With this letter Kennan submitted a "Partial List of Foreign Representatives in U.S.S.R.", and a list of "Foreign Representatives in Moscow, April 1, 1945" on which Kennan was listed as Minister-Counselor.

Lists attached  
62-6404-103X1 ep.6  
(4)

In a letter dated 7/17/45, to INS, WDC, Mrs. Celia M. Plicht, who had been employed at the American Embassy, Berlin, Germany from November 1940 to December 1941, set forth details of her husband's efforts to enter the US. Following their marriage in Germany on 11/4/41, Feliks A. Plicht was interned along with the Embassy staff and was not permitted to accompany Mrs. Plicht's group to the US (date not indicated). Mrs. Plicht's letter stated that Leland B. Morris, US Charge de Affaires, and George Kenan, First Secretary of the Embassy, appealed to the State Department through the Swiss, and the State Department agreed to exchange a German internee for Plicht. Although the German Foreign Office agreed to this exchange, they did not allow Plicht to depart with the group. (Files of INS.)

100-360059-25 ep.4  
(44)

Correlator's Note: In mid-1949, F. A. Plichta was an employee of the C. Hartwig, Inc., 30 Pine Street, NYC. (See 100-360059-8.)

The Liaison Office, Ottawa, Canada, forwarded a letter dated 8/3/45, which had been directed to the Canadian Government by a representative at the Canadian Embassy in Moscow. This letter set forth information relating to communism, secured through conversations with representatives of the US Embassy in Moscow. George Kennon, US Charge d' Affaires there, was in possession of definite information showing that the Communist International was not liquidated in 1943, but was decentralized geographically. Kennon also possessed information that headquarters had been created in Paris to control the Communist Parties in Western Europe and that Latin American Parties were controlled from two centers in Mexico and Cuba. Eastern European Parties were controlled from Moscow. This letter indicated that advantages of this decentralization to the Soviet Government were appreciable.

61-16-1306X  
(42)

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USDS made available a paraphrase of a cable forwarded to USDS by the American Ambassador to Moscow on 1/10/46. The writer of this cable was George F. Kennon, Counselor of the Embassy, who stated that he had received certain material from Washington revealing an "imperfect understanding" of the problem concerning the Soviet attitude towards China. Kennon presented a survey of the problem as he viewed the situation from Moscow. (Details set out.)

Add. info.

65-52604-5  
(41)

This reference is a telegram dated 10/6/45, from Kennan in Moscow to the Secretary of State, WDC, in which Kennan discussed the forthcoming Soviet election (date not indicated) and discussed the results of previous elections. (Details set out.)

109-12-240-22  
(38)

In connection with the preceding reference, the State Department furnished information on 2/15/46 indicating that George Kennan, Counselor to the Embassy in Moscow, telegraphed that the Soviet election, held on February 10, was the apex of two months of Soviet internal political propaganda. Kennan discussed 6 facts that should be considered in order to view that event in its proper light. (Detailed discussion of facts set out.)

109-12-240-42 p.1-4  
(Not indexed)

This reference is a telegram dated 2/20/46, from Kennan in Moscow to the USDS, WDC, in which Kennan discussed the Hungarian economic situation. (Details set out.)

110-6-249-11  
(38)

ONI furnished a list of individuals who had stayed for a certain period in Moscow and subsequently returned to the US. This list was compiled by [redacted] (100-347990), [redacted]. The name of George F. Kennan, Moscow, USSR, was included on this list.

b6  
b7c

(continued)

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(continued)

Above information was set out in a Bureau memo dated 7/10/46.

100-347990-1 ep.4

(10)

SI 105-37111-51 ep.3

(13)

This reference is a Bureau memo dated 7/22/53, furnishing a review of a 7/9/53 State Department summary report on Carmel Offie (65-32871). This included information indicating that in the Fall of 1946, George F. Kennan, Deputy for Foreign Service, reported that Offie was considered a "stimulating and hard working member of the seminar....." and described Offie as highly intelligent and as having an unusually retentive memory.

This reference described the above seminar as being held at the National War College (not further identified) in the Fall of 1946.

Review of report attached

65-32871-184 ep.3

(6)

The following references pertain to George F. Kennan's contact, and potential contact, with the Bureau, on 6/12/46 and 10/16/46, respectively, relative to discussion of matters pertaining to communist activities and conditions in Russia. Mr Kennan was considered one of the best informed individuals in the US. on Russia. He recently had resigned his position in the State Department and was lecturing at the War College\*:

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

61-3499-355  
-356  
-357

(3)  
(3)  
(4)

\*WDC

The following references pertain to a leak of information in connection with a top secret talk given before the Army War College in WDC, by W. Averell Harriman, Secretary of Commerce, on 10/10/46. On 10/16/46, George F. Kennan, former Counsel of the US Embassy at Moscow, along with Assistant Secretary of State Donald S. Russell and Frederick

(continued)

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(continued)

B. Lyon of the State Department, contacted the Bureau in regard to the recent publication of this speech by Jean Michael Davidson. Russell requested the Bureau to make a thorough investigation of this matter in an effort to determine who had given the information to Davidson. Davidson, a French newspaper reporter for France-Presse, had quoted this speech to the press. On 10/21/46, Kennan was interviewed by the Bureau regarding this leak, which he said had made it necessary for him to limit future lectures to individuals who were actually connected with the War College or who were division chiefs at the Department of State. On 10/22/46, Kennan gave a lecture at the War College:

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

62-58301-227

(24)

100-347256-1 p.2,4,8,11,16 (Interviewed)

(10,30)

-3 p.1,3

(30)

-6

(10)

Views expressed by Soviet Foreign Department officials in 1947 indicated that they had high respect for, and fear of the ability of certain US State Department (62-39749) personnel then formulating American foreign policy. Placed in this category was George F. Kennan, former Ambassador to Russia. These officials indicated that the Russians had gained respect for Kennan when he was credited by them for labelling the Soviet foreign policy as "Soviet imperialism". Another line of propaganda which the Soviets attributed to Kennan and indicated difficulty in counteracting, was the propaganda known as "containment". The Soviets found it difficult to interpret logically the "containment" policy as aggression in their propaganda.

b7D

62-39749-1883 ep.1 -

(4)

Referral/Consult

(S)

100-350583-61 p.8

(30)

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An unknown outside source furnished information concerning the Spring Conference held May 2 to 4, 1947 at Williams College (94-1 sub 5449), Williamstown, Mass., on the subject, "The Future of American Capitalist Democracy". George Kennan was a participant in a discussion at this conference.

94-1-5449-6  
(26)

The following references set out information pertaining to an article by "X" entitled, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," which appeared in the July, 1947 issue of "Foreign Affairs". References identify "X" as George F. Kennan and include press comments concerning the article:

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
94-1-17998-766 p.17	(26)
109-12-240-A, "Daily Worker", 7/9/47 p.2	(14)
-A, "The Washington Post", 7/11/47 p.19	(32)
109-12-250-176 (Translation of article from "Tygodnik Ilustrowany" attached)	(15)

The "Washington Star", 8/28/47, carried an article captioned "US Advises Europe Plan For Aid Must Be Reasonable, Realistic" subtitled "Lovett Also Warns Nations At Paris That Demands Must Diminish Next Year". This article indicated that the 16 nations drafting a blueprint for Europe's economic recovery had received official American advice that to win US acceptance the plan must be both reasonable and realistic. Two top State Department experts, George F. Kennan and Charles Bonesteel, were en route to Paris to advise Will L. Claton, Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs, and Ambassador Jefferson Caffery that the US was ready to extend friendly aid at Paris. Other independent studies were being made by a governmental committee headed by Dr. Edwin G. Nourse, chairman of Truman's Council of Economic Advisers, and within the USDS by a policy group directed by Kennan.

110-6-304-A "Washington Star"  
(15) 8/28/47

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A report of WFO set forth data from reports which Lieutenant General Izydor Rudolf Modelski (105-10830), Polish Military and Air Attache, WDC, transmitted to Poland in 1947 and 1948. This included letters to Brigadier General Wacław Komar, Warsaw, dated 5/7/47 and 9/16/47, discussing American foreign policy and indicating that George F. Kennan, former Commissioner of the National War College, would direct the Political Planning Committee for the Department of State. This Committee was formed to try to solve the problems faced in the struggle against communism. This Committee would see that communist nations did not receive aid in material or financial form. Modelski advised General Komar that some of the top figures in the State Department like Kennan, indicated that the course of American foreign policy was directed against the Soviet Union and aimed at the reconstruction of a powerful German nation as far as the European theatre of diplomacy was concerned. According to the 5/7/47 letter, an article by W. H. Chamberlain in the "Wall Street Journal", 4/29/47, indicated that Kennan was the cousin of the well-known publisher, also named George Kennan, who, forty years ago, enlightened the world with his treatise on the political system of the Czarist Government. The letter commented that Kennan was as fully informed on the conditions of the Soviet Union today as his cousin was forty years ago about Czarist Rule. (Letters set out.)

According to WFO, Modelski claimed that his reports were based on newspaper and magazine articles or were the products of his own interpretation of news events.

105-10830-62 p.37,121  
(11)

The "Daily Worker", 9/20/47, p.7, in an article captioned "The Dulles Conspiracy", stated that John Foster Dulles who was master-minding the "let's-have-war-with-Russia" program which so dangerously was dominating Washington's words and deeds, was reported by the "Philadelphia Bulletin" of Sept. 17 as having written Secretary Marshall's\* recent speech which defied the spirit and the letter of the UN. The article accused Government leaders of warmongering and stated that Secretary Marshall appointed as his right-hand policy assistant, George Kennan, author of the vicious article preaching the impossibility of a settlement with Russia.

100-3-81-A, "Daily Worker", 9/20/47  
(27)

\*Secretary of State George C. Marshall.

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This reference is Vol. 8, No 9 of the "Current Biography", (94-3-4 sub 1115), dated October 1947 and published by the H. W. Wilson Co. of NY. This document set forth a detailed biography of George Frost Kennan, born 2/16/04. A photograph of Kennan was included in this data.

94-3-4-1115-48 p.30-32  
(7,18)

Referral/Consult

Bureau memo dated 2/2/50, enclosed translations from micro-film containing photographic negatives of subversive files of the French Service d' Ordre, as furnished by IDA\* to the Bureau and [ ] Document No. 39 entitled "United States of America" included a document dated 11/1/47 captioned "The United States and the Soviet Regime". This set forth a detailed discussion of a report (title not indicated) by Georges F. Kennan, Director of Foreign Affairs of the State Department, which had been the object of the sharpest criticism by Walter Lippman, in a series of five articles in the "New York Herald Tribune" entitled "The Cold War". (Details set out.)

Document No. 39 also included a document dated 11/1/47 captioned "An American Document" which stated that Mr. Kennan, an American diplomat on a mission to Moscow who had accompanied USA President Roosevelt on various conferences, had been the principal artisan of the sudden change in President Roosevelt in considering a Russo-American difference of opinion inevitable in the post-war period. This document indicated that Kennan had been called to direct the new "Planing" Section of the State Department; that he currently was on a mission to Europe and just had made numerous contacts in Paris to prepare the application of the plan of assistance to Europe; and that Soviet newspapers of all countries had attacked him violently. According to this document, under the title: "The Origin of Soviet Conduct", Kennan tried to define "the political personality of Soviet power.....product of ideology and circumstances". (Details set out.)

Translations enclosed  
64-211-231-87 ep.207-213  
(34)

\*Intelligence Division of the Army.

On 11/8/47, Father Stepan Tomislav Poglajen aka., Father Tomislav Kolakovic, (100-350583) was interviewed concerning his suggestion regarding the communist and Russian problem. Father Kolakovic had conferred with various representatives of the State Department including Mr. Kennan. (Date and source not given.)

100-350583-23 p.15  
(37)

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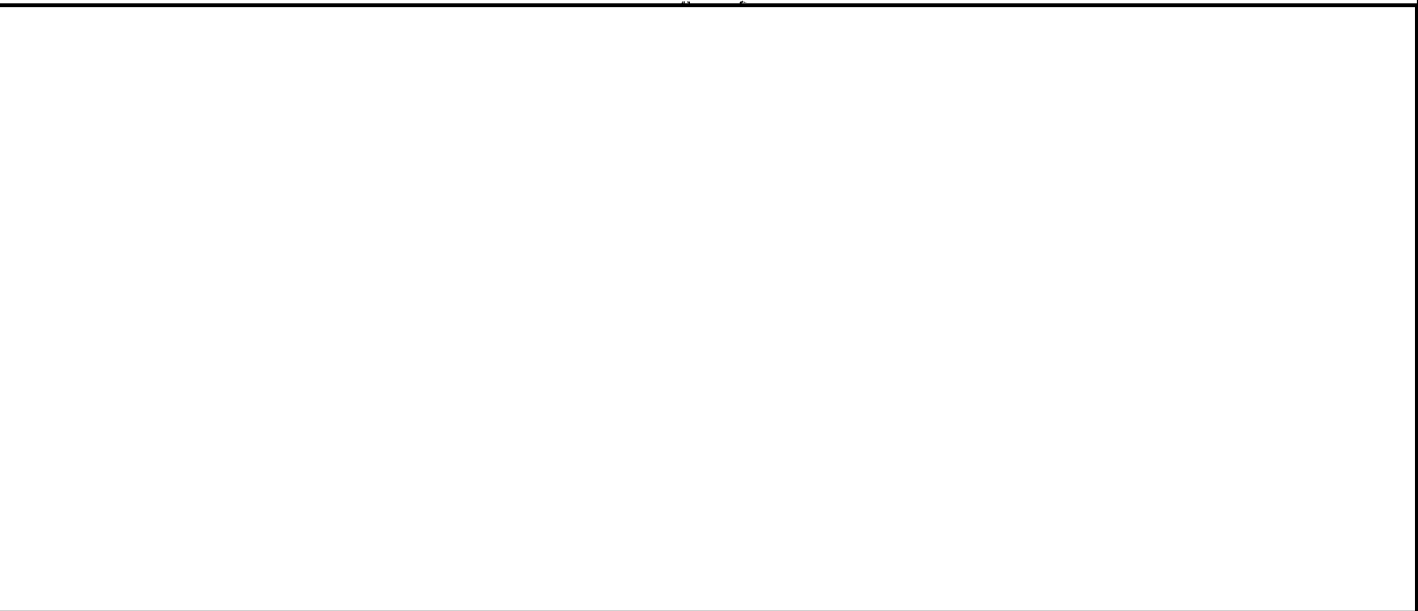
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b7D



Translation attached  
[65-57411-713 ep.45] (464) (S)

Referral/Consult



[redacted] made available an undated letter mailed by [redacted] from Los Angeles on 2/12/48 to [redacted]. The letter indicated that ever since "Mr. X" tipped the hand of the government a year ago, on "influencing the Communist movement outside of Russia," as a part of the whole imperialist program, anyone with his eyes open could see a lot of developments that could fit into such a plan. It was noted that the Mr. X referred to in the aforementioned letter probably was Mr. Kennan of the State Department, who described publicly a year ago the policy of containment of Russia by resisting its efforts at encroachment and expansion at every turn. b7D

Letter enclosed  
100-295935-15 p.6  
(37)

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The following references set out information on George F. Kennan developed in connection with a 3/11/48 request from the Department of Justice for information to be utilized by Department representatives handling the trial of Robert Henry Best (100-103780) in Boston, Massachusetts. Best, a journalist who was interned in Germany along with other American journalists and State Department officials following the outbreak of hostilities between the US and Germany in December 1941, had functioned as a radio commentator for the Germans. The Department specifically requested a copy of a memo in possession of the State Department, which had been prepared by "George P. Kennan, now assistant to Secretary of State Marshall", and which pertained to disclosures made to Kennan in Germany by Hugo Speck concerning Speck's contacts with German agents. In compliance with this request, the Bureau forwarded to Boston copies of reports obtained from the State Department, which were dated 3/15/42 through 5/11/42 at Bad Nauheim and 5/25 and 28/42 at sea, and signed George F. Kennan, or G. F. Kennan, or GFK. They set out information on members of the American Official Group interned at Bad Nauheim, Germany on whom there was some suspicion regarding their attitudes and loyalties, namely, Mrs. Tabor Divikey, Miss Mary Ann Kullmer, Hugo Templeton Speck, Charles Smith and Joe Weidhaas of the American group and Colombo Murray, representative of the Polish Relief Committee who had been attached to the group. These reports indicated that Kennan, First Secretary of the American Embassy in Berlin who was interned with the group at a hotel in Bad Nauheim from December 1941 until 5/12/42, functioned throughout as Liaison Officer in minor matters between the members of the American Official Group and the German officials. It was ascertained at the State Department that Kennan currently was in Japan and was expected to return to WDC sometime before 3/28/48:

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-103780-381

(21)

-382

{Not indexed}

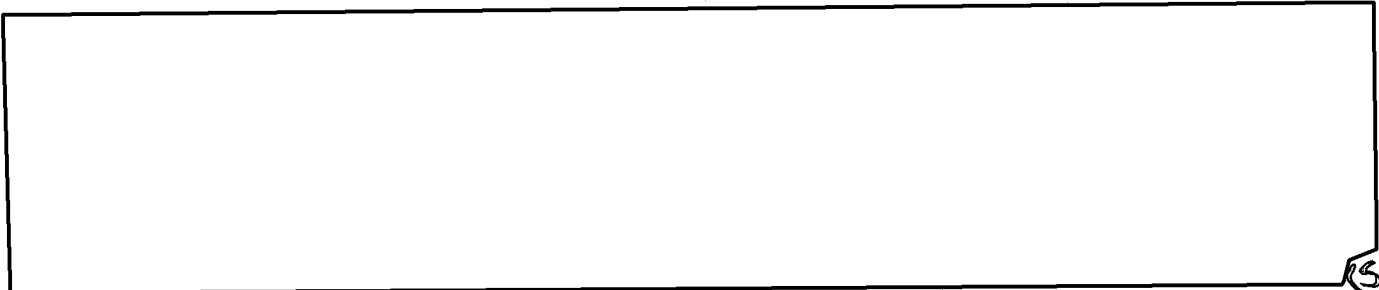
-389 (Photostatic copies

{Not indexed}

enclosed, of reports

of Kennan dated 3/15-5/28/42)

Referral/Consult



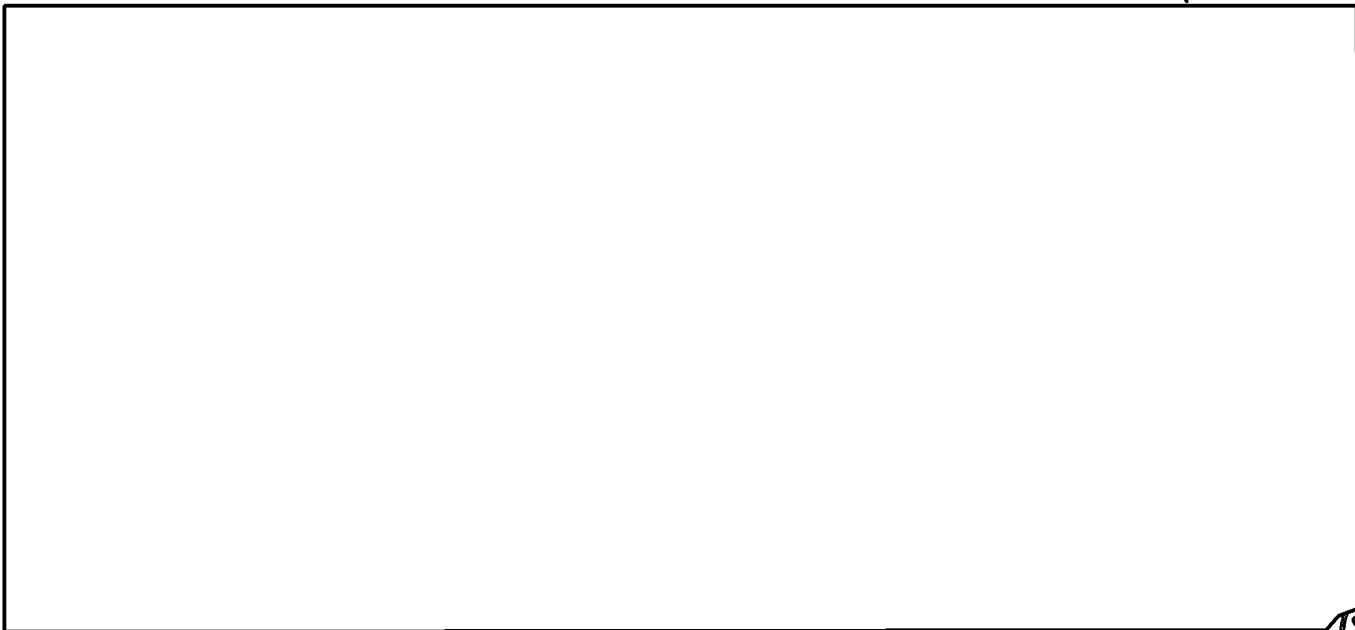
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Referral/Consult

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Prints and memo attached  
65-48824-869 ep.2,3  
(7)

Correlator's Note: [

[ ] information has been (S)  
noted during preparation of this summary which appears to indicate that Kennan's uncle was author of the book on Siberia. This conclusion was reached on the basis of certain factors of information appearing in 97-2660-69 ep.1-3 (which also sets out information on George F. Kennan); 100-92526-921; 100-275683-355; and The Columbia-Viking Desk Encyclopedia, August, 1964 Edition, which sets out information: "Kennan, George, 1845-1924, American authority on Siberia. Explored Siberia and other parts of Russia. His articles were for many years reliable source of information on the area. His grandnephew, George F(rost) Kennan, 1904-, became a diplomat.....".

An Airgram dated 6/18/48, from Moscow to the Secretary of State, WDC, advised that the Soviet press recently had published articles emphasizing the willing cooperation of the Japanese Government in alleged US plans to convert Japan into a "reactionary, anti-Communist"

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bastion in the Far East. These articles concentrated on the Johnson Committee report and the activities of Mr. Johnson, General Draper, and Mr. George Kennan in an expected endeavor to characterize these gentlemen in Soviet eyes as prime examples of arch-imperialists (sic). One article made reference to a report from the Hong Kong newspaper "Huasanpao", which stated that Kennan had worked out the so-called "Little Marshall Plan" providing for economic and strategic ties between Japan, Southern Korea, the Philippines, and the former mandated islands that passed from Japan to the USA after the war; also, that as a result of negotiations between Kennan and Draper and the Japanese, a plan was evolved whereby Japan would be granted a loan in 1948-49. (Selected quotations from articles set out.)

110-6-234-258  
(32)

The following references are letters from the San Francisco Office dated 5/5/48 and 9/29/48, evaluating information furnished to that Office by Thomas Leonard Harris (100-299061), Executive Director, American Russian Institute, San Francisco, California, who maintained a friendly relationship with Soviet Consular personnel in San Francisco. In a report dated 3/15/48, which was fragmentary in nature, Harris indicated that he kept Soviet officials closely informed of what he "could pick up, e.g. when Kennan visited S.F. (Kennan's visit revealed very interesting differences between the Consulate and the CP approach)". Harris furnished copies of reports on his contacts with George Kennan (formerly of the State Department), which reports he had given to Mikhail Vavilov, Soviet Consul General at San Francisco, and a copy of a letter dated 8/28/46, directed to Harris, on the letterhead of the National War College, WDC, and signed by George F. Kennan, Deputy for Foreign Affairs. (No further details. Time of contact with Kennan not indicated.):

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-299061-158	ep.13,14 (3/15/48 report of Harris enclosed)	(37)
-164	p.5,7; encl. (8/28/46 letter and undated reports of Harris concerning Kennan enclosed)	(29)

On 11/9/48, George F. Kennan of the State Department advised that he was meeting with Jerome Davis (100-8871) on that date at the

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Allies Inn\*. Kennan stated that [redacted], over the years, had been an apologist for the Stalin government; that the meeting was taking place at the insistence of [redacted]; and that he desired the meeting to be made a matter of record in case anyone saw him with such an undesirable character as [redacted]. At a subsequent date (not indicated) Kennan advised that his contact with [redacted] was of no significance.

The preceding information appeared in a Bureau memo dated 11/16/48.

100-8871-97X  
(8)

\*WDC

b7D  
Referral/Consult

Bureau memo dated 12/31/48, indicated that [redacted] (not further identified) (protect identity) advised [redacted] (not identified) that he had learned that an organization had been set up for the purpose of fostering underground movements in the countries bordering the "Iron Curtain". This organization had been set up under Mr. Kennan, USDS, and [redacted] (not further identified) of [redacted] (62-80750). [redacted] advised that he heard that this group had received a sum of twenty-three million dollars for this activity. It was indicated that Kennan acted in an advisory capacity to this group from the standpoint of policy making.

62-80750-859  
(36)

On 1/28/49, [redacted] advised that certain industrialists in the US, with the benediction and unofficial guidance of the USDS, were making plans to conduct a counter-campaign against the Soviet intelligence and propaganda system. [redacted] had lectured to this group of industrialists on conditions in the Soviet Union and had attempted to obtain additional information for them. This lecture was most probably suggested by George F. Kennan, an official of the State Department.

b7D

100-346832-14  
(10)

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The Philadelphia Office furnished a translation from German of the 4/1/49 issue of the "Demokratische Post", Mexico City. An article on page 1, column 1 entitled "What Is Happening?", by Special Correspondent A. H., Frankfurt on Main, made reference to a speech by General Clay\* on March 15th in Munich, before officers in the American Military Government. This article stressed the importance of Clay's speech inasmuch as it was given before Mr. Kennan, who was on an information trip to Germany and who was a leader of a group of men in Washington who established the guiding lines for a new policy in Germany.

Translation attached  
100-72924-860 ep.4  
(37)

\*Lucius D. Clay

The "New Leader", New York, 3/19/49 p.2, carried an article captioned "Miss Bucar's Good-Bye" by David J. Dallin, pertaining to Anabella Bucar (65-53718), an American employee of the American Embassy in Moscow during 1946-48, who had married a Russian man and had become a useful member of the MGB family. According to this article, Bucar wrote a book, "Truth About American Diplomats", published recently in Moscow, in which she indicated that the American Embassy in Moscow was run by a bunch of crazy Soviet-haters, reactionaries of little political intelligence and low morals. She did not report much on the ambassadors themselves but directed most of her fury toward George Kennan (who spent a certain time in Moscow), Elbridge Durbrow and Frederick Reinhardt, accusing them of all possible crimes. The article stated further that these charges acquired certain importance, since their actual origin was the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow.

65-53718-A, "New Leader", 3/19/49,  
New York

(25)

SI 100-39588-18 p.9

(46) (Synopsis of book set out in  
article, "An Expert on Russia"  
in "Russky Golos", 3/10/49)

With reference to the previously-mentioned book, Albert Charles Gibbs (65-62388), during an interview by the Bureau in WDC, on 1/14/54, furnished a document, consisting of pages of Rumanian language typewritten text, translated title, "The Truth About American

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Diplomats" by Anabelle Bucar, which previously had been published in Rumania in the magazine, "New Times", and the newspaper, "Universul". Chapter II, pages 14-28, of this document entitled, "The Anti-Soviet Clique of the State Department", stated that from the time diplomatic relations were re-established between the US and the Soviet Union, the State Department had endeavored and had succeeded in creating a clique of anti-Russian diplomats in the Department; also, that one of the individuals who belonged to this group of diplomats was Loy Henderson, who in his efforts to get his anti-Soviet policy well entrenched and implemented, recruited George Kennan, Charles Bohlen and Edward Page to do the job.

65-62388-4 p.10  
(26)  
SI 100-3-86-1353  
(42)

[ ] furnished the names of individuals known to him who were social acquaintances or business contacts of [ ] (100-9261). Included in this group was [ ] Representative to the UN. According to informant, [ ] had stated that when [ ] was in WDC during the first week of April 1949, he intended to introduce [ ] to George Kennan whom Visson described as a very important man in the State Department. b7D

The 1949 State Department Directory listed Kennan as Director of the Planning Staff of the State Department.

100-9261-48 p.11,12  
(27)

Referral/Consult

Bureau memo dated 4/4/49, indicated that [ ] (118-3877), [ ] had listed George F. Kennan, Department of State, WDC, as a character reference. (S)(u)

Kennan was interviewed on 4/14/49 concerning [ ]. He stated that he could not understand why the FBI was investigating [ ] as an [ ] inasmuch as [ ] was not working for [ ] but was a member of his (Kennan's) staff assigned by Kennan to act as a liaison representative between the State Department and [ ]. Kennan stated that he was going to get in touch with [ ] to find out what this was all about. (S)(u)

118-3877-3  
(16)

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By letter dated 7/5/49, George F. Kennan, Department of State, WDC, forwarded documents relating to remarks made by "Dr Isaiah Berlin" (100-345183) to the correspondent of the "N.Y. Times", at the recent Mount Holyoke College\* Institute on the United Nations. Kennan advised that he considered Berlin to be probably the greatest and wisest student of Soviet affairs in the whole Anglo-Saxon world. He added that he would be grateful if a record of his views regarding Berlin could be made.

100-345183-2

(9)

\*South Hadley, Mass.

The "New Leader", dated 7/16/49, carried an article captioned "Russia's Iron Hoop" by David J. Dallin. This article indicated that an editorial appeared in Pravda (61-2543) dealing with the results of the Paris Conference of Foreign Ministers. This editorial disagreed with Truman's statement that the conference and its decisions had proved the soundness of the American policy. As a commentary on the Truman Doctrine, George Kennan wrote an article for "Foreign Affairs". This article analyzed the "sources of Soviet conduct"; it broke with all appeasement policies; and it arrived at the conclusion that only firmness could contain Russia and perhaps make Stalin retreat. Kennan pointed out that inflated Soviet prestige was a major factor in international affairs and along with military power, **was one** of the iron hoops holding together the Soviet powder keg.

61-2543-A "New Leader" 7/16/49

(23)

"The Washington Times-Herald", 11/8/49, stated that "Well over one thousand guests representing diplomacy, officialdom and society, turned out at the Soviet Embassy yesterday to celebrate the 32nd Anniversary of the October Soviet Revolt". This article indicated that among officials who attended was George F. Kennan, Chief of Policy and Planning Board, USDS.

[ 65-30092-3696 p.3 ] ~~(2)~~  
(6)

James Swihart, 415 South Washington Street, Alexandria, Virginia, Foreign Affairs Officer, European Regional Affairs, Department of State, advised that he had a close relationship with Francis Henry

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Russell (121-23552) as his special assistant in the Office of Public Affairs, Department of State, from 1945-1950. Swihart advised that Russell was largely the author of the Truman Doctrine, and also played a large role in getting across the concept of the Marshall Plan. He also stated that former Ambassador George Kennan once wrote an article on the general problem of the containment of Russia which appeared in "Foreign Affairs". He stated that the authorship of the article was revealed only as "X". Swihart stated that it was Russell's idea to get Kennan's article in print in this fashion so that his ideas on the matter could be circulated out in the open more readily.

121-23552-31 p.28  
(33)

The following references contain a two-part article by Y. Zhilin entitled, "No Roadblocks In The Way To Peaceful Co-existence", setting forth detailed comments on an article by George F. Kennan published in the January, 1960 issue of the magazine "Foreign Affairs", under the title, "Peaceful Co-existence - A Western View":

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

See: Publications, Alphabetical  
Section, "Soviet News", 3/16/60,  
p.242-244.

(3)

See: Publications, Alphabetical  
Section, "Soviet News", 3/17/60,  
p.247, 248.

(3)

"Plain Talk" (94-36511) dated January 1950, in an article entitled "Plain Talk From Our Readers", subtitled "Internal Russian Revolution", set forth a letter from Charles C. Greene, Great Neck, NY, taking issue with an article, "A Simple Solution", by Eugene Lyons, appearing in the November issue of "Plain Talk". The Lyons article was a satirical approach to views of one "Mr. M." who advocated Stalin's overthrow by internal revolution. Greene's letter indicated that among prominent individuals expressing agreement in part with the views of "Mr. M." was George Kennan who had stated: "It is entirely possible for the United States to influence by its actions the internal developments both within Russia and throughout the international communist movement".

Publication enclosed  
94-36511-110 ep.64

(27)

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"The Worker", 1/1/50, p.2, carried an article captioned "Memo to George F. Keenan: What 50 Years of US 'Leadership' Has Meant to Latin American Peoples" by Joseph Starobin. This article assailed the record of George Keenan of the USDS and used a report that Keenan would visit Latin America as a basis for a critical review of the United States' relationship with the Latin American people, which, Starobin claimed, had aided in the oppression of the people of that area. Starobin also questioned whether Keenan would be able to bring help to the people of Africa, to which area he would also devote his attention.

100-3-3290 p.85  
(46,48)

Legat, Rolf L. Larson, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, advised that a meeting was held on 1/21/50 by the "National Center For Study and Defense of Petroleum" (100-364092). This meeting was attended by representatives of various communist-front organizations. On this occasion the directors of the center voted to support the communist campaign in favor of the nationalization of the Light and Power Company and against gas rationing, the campaign against the Security Law, the general attacks on constituted authority and the attacks and criticisms against the coming to Brazil of George F. Kennan, State Department Counselor.

100-364092-4  
(10)

On 3/15/50, the NY Office furnished a copy of the Johannes Steel (100-2267) "Report on World Affairs", dated February 1950. This report disclosed that the past thirty days had brought about the "utter disintegration of the American system of worldwide alliances based on the foreign policy of containment (first proclaimed in July 1947 by policy planner George Kennan who has now been removed from that post in the State Department) and the military strategy of the atomic war; and with it a strengthening of the worldwide forces for peace."

Report enclosed  
100-2267-268 ep.1  
(27)

[ ] advised that on the occasion of the Conference of US Ambassadors held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, the Organizacao b7D

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Brasileira De Defesa Da Paz E Da Cultura - OBDPC (Brazilian Organization for the Defense of Peace and Culture) (100-361027), in a proclamation dated 2/9/50 published in the communist newspaper, "Imprensa Popular", referred to the conference as a meeting of "Yankee spies". The article indicated that "the people should prevent from meeting the traffickers in human blood, headed by George Kennan and Edward G. Miller\* who come here to execute the war plans of the foreign trusts".

100-361027-3 ep.2

(30)

\*Not further identified.

A letter of 3/9/50, from the Legat, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, pertaining to existing relations between that Office and the American Embassy, Rio de Janeiro (64-4480), summarized developments relating to establishment there of a State Department Regional Security Office. In connection with the Ambassadors Conference then in progress, Regional Security Officers had requested assistance of the Legat's Office in establishing liaison with the police security forces that had been assigned to protect State Department Counselor George Kennan and Assistant Secretary of State Edward G. Miller during the Conference.

64-4480-537

(25)

The "Washington Post", 5/6/50 page 3, carried an article captioned "Kennan Worried" subtitled "State Department Morale Hurt by McCarthy". This article, datelined Milwaukee, May 5, reported that State Department Counselor George F. Kennan spoke on that date in the home State of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R) (121-23278) who had charged that there were communists, sex perverts and poor security risks in the Department. Kennan told a meeting of the Institute on United Nations Foreign Policy that if the present atmosphere of "abuse and derision" continued, the Department might lose some of its top officials. (Further details.)

121-23278-A "Washington Post"  
5/6/50

(16)

This reference is a Bureau memo dated 10/17/51, enclosing copies of IPR (100-64700) documents furnished by Robert Morris of the

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McCarran Committee. A letter dated 9/22/50, from IPR Executive Vice Chairman William L. Holland, soliciting views on the American IPR, was mailed to numerous individuals, one of whom was George Kennan. A letter dated 9/25/50, to Miss Katrine R. C. Greene, IPR, NYC, signed by Jocelyn Farr, School of Historical Studies, IAS, Princeton, New Jersey, acknowledged Holland's letter to Kennan and stated that Kennan regretted that he was not in a position to be helpful at that time.

Photostats enclosed  
100-64700-998 ep.803,1139  
(8) (27)

[redacted] (protect identity), [redacted] b7D  
[redacted], made available an un-dated report prepared by French intelligence agencies on the activities of [redacted] (121-23230), [redacted]  
[redacted], Department of State, US Embassy, Rome, Italy, alleging that his activities were detrimental to American security. According to this report, it was understood that [redacted] was a long-time member of the so-called Muscovite group of career Foreign Service officials ranging from George Keenan down, and this was the reason why various reports and rumors from the Paris Embassy had gone unnoticed in the State Department.

The preceding report was forwarded by New York report dated 9/29/50.

Copy of report enclosed  
121-23230-3X30 ep.3  
(47)  
SI as par. 1  
121-23230-2 ep.3  
(47) (Copy of report enclosed) Referral/Consult

Bureau memo dated 11/25/50, indicated that [redacted]  
[redacted] (62-80750) had announced at the last meeting of the [redacted]  
[redacted] that a group of Consultants was being set up to advise [redacted] with respect to intelligence estimates. [redacted] indicated that this project would be operated at Princeton University in conjunction with the Princeton IAS. Among those lined up was George Kennan, formerly with the USDS. (S)(u)

62-80750-1419  
(24)

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A New York report dated 12/1/51, covering an examination of records of Tass News Agency (100-183386) in NYC, set forth the following information pertaining to George Kennan:

In April 1949, the Tass Office in Moscow requested the Tass Bureau in NYC to transmit the text of "Kennan's statements of April 13th, in the House of Representatives." (p.98)

In February 1950, the Tass Office in Moscow requested transmittal of "Kennan's article in 'Readers Digest'". (p.104)

News articles in the Russian language, airmailed to Moscow and described as "Mailers" included NY Tass Mailer #29, 2/27/50, 7 pages, "The USA Policy in Latin America", by N. Kosov, in which Kosov referred to the visit of Kennan to Latin American countries. Kosov stated that Kennan, "on information of a Brazilian progressive newspaper", was working out a plan to deprive the Latin American countries of their sovereignty and that the newspaper demanded an immediate expulsion of Kennan and other American spies. (p.338)

Four outgoing news dispatches from Tass Bureau, NYC, to Tass Bureau in Moscow, dated 2/26/51, commented on the "Times" article of 2/25/51 entitled, "Let Peace Not Die of Neglect" by George Kennan, a member of Princeton University's "Institute of Advanced Study", on leave from the State Department. (Detailed comments and quotes from article set out). (p.244-248)

No further details. Translations set out, in part.  
100-183386-534 p.98,104,244-248,  
338,618

(29)

Correlator's Note: The page numbers at the end of preceding paragraphs pertain to the pages of the New York report which is incorporated in 11 sections of Bureau files.

According to Bureau memo dated 5/31/51, Mr. Matthews of the State Department advised that George Kennan was driving to Glen Cove, Long Island, on that date.

It was noted that Kennan was going there for the purpose of seeing Jacob Malik (100-363697). Kennan had asked that this information be furnished to the Bureau. Complete details were to be obtained from Matthews or Kennan after Kennan's visit with Malik.

100-363697-4  
(30)

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New York letter of 6/2/51 advised that George Kennan, of the IAS, Princeton, NJ, furnished the Newark Office a letter dated 4/22/51 to him from Fred Kschadow (100-237027), 323 E 84 St., NYC. In this letter, Kschadow referred to Kennan's article in the April issue of the NY publication "Foreign Affairs" as pure nonsense.

Kschadow had been interviewed in NYC on 9/21/44. It was noted that he spoke very little English and appeared to be rather vacant and wandering in his thoughts. New York was conducting no investigation with reference to the letter Kschadow sent to Kennan.

Translation, from German, of letter  
enclosed  
100-237027-13 p.1,2; ep.1  
(29)

Bureau letter to NY dated 6/5/51, enclosed a communication, apparently misdated 5/29/30, which was received from William Christie MacLeod (121-31758), 51 W 10th Street, NYC. In this communication MacLeod expressed his desire to obtain fresh material on current communist dynamics for a book he hoped to write. He indicated, however, that very recently he had had the occasion to correspond at length on this with George Kennan of the IAS, Princeton, NJ.

121-31758-X p.1  
(33)

The State Department furnished a report prepared July 1951, by the Common Council for American Unity titled "Russian Americans". This report indicated that several organizations composed entirely or in part of non-Russians played an important part in the political activities of the Russian American group. Included among the most important was the Free Russia Fund, Inc., 542 Fifth Ave., NYC. George F. Kennan was president of this organization which was established by the Ford Foundation, "to help refugees and exiles from the Soviet Union by assistance in their integration in the United States."

105-15940-2 p.13  
(13)

The following references in the file captioned "Free Russia Fund, Incorporated" (FRFI) contain information pertaining to the activities of George F. Kennan, IAS, Princeton, N.J., in connection with his

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association with the FRFI during the approximate period, 3/20/51-November 1951, in NYC. On 3/29/51 Kennan directed a letter to the Bureau on the letterhead of the IAS, Princeton, N.J., advising as a matter of interest to the Bureau that he, Kennan, and four others had formed this corporation on 3/20/51. At the first meeting Kennan was elected President of the Board of Trustees. By letter dated 6/25/51, Kennan furnished a copy of a booklet entitled, "Russian Emigre Politics", Edited by George Fischer in 1951 and consisting of materials dealing with the Russian exile problem as compiled by the FRFI. Pages 11-32 of this booklet set forth an article by George F. Kennan entitled, "America and the Russian Future", reprinted from "Foreign Affairs" (New York), March, 1951 pages 351-370. Background data on Kennan included in this booklet indicated that he presently was serving as Consultant to the Ford Foundation and was President of the Free Russia Fund:

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

105-15519-1	(12)
-2	(Not indexed)
-3	(31)
-5 ep.1,6,11-32,83,94 (Booklet enclosed)	(12)
-7 ep.2	(31)
-A, NY "World Telegram and Sun", 5/18/51	(12)
-A, NY "Herald Tribune", 5/18/51	(12)
	Referral/Consult

62-80750-2614X1 p.3  
(24)

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The following references on George Frost Kennan appear in the files captioned below. Information regarding the activities of Kennan, an official of USDS, is briefly described as follows:

INFORMATION, DATE AND SOURCE

REFERENCE & SEARCH  
SLIP PAGE NUMBER

CP - Argentina

USDS furnished information regarding a report on non-American subversive activities for March 1950. The month of March had been a relatively quiet period for overt activities on the part of the CP of Argentina. The Party was unable to capitalize in any way on the visit of George Kennan in March.

64-200-201-422  
(24)

CP - Brazil

[ ] advised that the CP of Brazil reportedly had displayed serious loss of strength and prestige in connection with its unsuccessful efforts to create mass protests against Kennan and Miller, USDS officials, on their visit to Brazil. (Rio de Janeiro report, dated 5/23/50) ~~XX~~

64-200-205-939 p.1  
(36)

b7D

CP - China

Letter, 6/20/47, from American Embassy, Nanking, to Secretary of State, WDC, setting forth analysis of "Explanation of Several Basic Questions Concerning the Post-War International Situation" written by Lu Ting-yi of the Chinese CP. This letter, in discussing Slavic nationalism, stated that its growth had been most ably elaborated in various reports of Kennan, who for some times was Minister-Counselor in Moscow.

64-200-246-242 p.5  
(5)

The "Daily People's World" carried an article dated 9/9/49, captioned "New China" by Adam Lapin. This article

64-200-246-A "Daily  
People's World" p.6  
9/9/49  
(6)

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INFORMATION, DATE AND SOURCE

REFERENCE & SEARCH SLIP  
PAGE NUMBER

pointed out that Kennan, USDS, had a theory to explain away the significance of the epoch-making communist victories in China. Kennan claimed in a radio broadcast that there was no particular reason for American anti-communists to worry about events in China. He said that "the final results of this communist experiment in China" would be known only when their government "comes up against the realities of everyday practical life".

CP - Portugal

On 9/9/43 Kennan, Charge d' Affaires ad interim, Lisbon, Portugal, addressed a dispatch to USDS concerning communist activities in Portugal. (Bureau memo, 12/27/44)

64-200-236-37 p.7,8  
(18)

CP - South America

USDS communication dated 5/16/50 set forth information regarding the communist campaign in Rio Grande do Sul\* against Assistant Secretary Miller, Counselor Kennan and the Rio Conference of Ambassadors during the month of March 1950. The handbills issued, and the painting of streets and wall space with communist literature, were directed at Kennan. The handbills labeled Kennan a spy.

64-200-306-75 p.1-3; ep.2,3  
(36)  
SI 64-200-205-1050 ep.10  
(24)

\*Brazil

Sodac - Russia

The "Washington Post," 12/9/51, in an article captioned, "Reds Assail Kennan, Likely Ambassador", indicated that Russia had turned

64-211-240-A "Washington Post"  
(20) 12/9/51 p.5M

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INFORMATION, DATE AND SOURCE

REFERENCE & SEARCH  
SLIP PAGE NUMBER

its propaganda guns on Kennan, former USDS counselor, who might be the next US Ambassador to Russia. According to this article, the Moscow Radio, in a broadcast, had accused Kennan of having voiced "hate" for the Soviet Union. A photograph of Kennan accompanied this article.

In Walter Winchell's (62-31615) Sunday broadcast on 12/23/51, he stated that Moscow had not given the green light yet to George Keenan as our new Ambassador to Russia. He indicated that Keenan was our top Russian authority.

62-31615-715 p.4  
(46)

Mrs. Ann Walton, Executive Secretary, East European Fund Incorporated (EEFI), 10 East 44th Street, NYC, advised that in January 1952, Philip Edward Mosely (123-14987) became President of the East European Fund Incorporated, originally known as the Free Russia Fund Incorporated. He succeeded George F. Kennan who became the US Ambassador to Russia.

The serial indicated that the EEFI was created as a private organization to assist displaced persons coming from the USSR, to adjust themselves to life in America, and thus to develop as fully as possible their talents and energies as useful citizens in a free society.

123-14987-24 p.4a  
(16)

Newark report dated 5/13/52, indicated that there was no E. Zahanoff or Dr. J. Kennon known at Princeton, NJ, and there was no number 175 Hodge Road at Princeton. It was noted that the current directory for the IAS listed George F. Kennan, recent appointed US Ambassador, as a member of Historical Studies and a resident of 146 Hodge Road, Princeton, NJ.

105-13126-29  
(12)

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Correlator's Note: Further review of the aforementioned disclosed that during January and February 1952, Lubov Stolbin (105-13126) received correspondence from E. Zahanoff, c/o Dr. J. Kennon, 175 Hodge Road, Princeton, NJ.

On 3/11/52, Nikolai Antonovich Kossov (105-12325) advised [redacted] that he had "read a confidential State Department document in which Mr. Kennan (ph) had reported in 1947 America had told Britain that if there was any fighting in Hong Kong they (America) were ready with guns, men and equipment." Kossov was apparently quoting this information to prove America wanted war. Kennan was not identified by Kossov. ~~FS~~

b7D

On 4/23/52, the State Department (protect identity), WDC, advised that the personal correspondence of George Frost Kennan was searched for the year 1947 by [redacted] (protect identity),

[redacted]

As of approximately June 1952, Kennan was US Ambassador to Russia. (No source.)

105-12325-244  
(12,19)

In connection with the investigation relating to "Unknown Subject; Visiting 3204 Highland Place, N.W. Washington, D.C." (105-59630) the following information was developed:

[redacted] (protect identity), [redacted], [redacted], WDC, a cab driver, advised that she picked up a white male Russian on 4/13/57 and took him to the above address. This individual advised her that he was from Russia, and was a Russian refugee who was once with the Russian Embassy but was now with the Voice of America.

The March, 1957 Washington telephone directory indicated that the resident of the above address was Manley O. Hudson, Jr.

A review of the files of the Passport Office, USDS, on 6/3/54, revealed that Hudson had requested amendment of his passport

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at the American Consulate at Geneva, Switzerland, to be valid for travel to the USSR. The passport file indicated that Hudson had been invited by the daughter of American Ambassador George F. Kennan to visit Moscow, entering about 8/15/52. On 7/30/52, the Department cabled Kennan in Moscow to inquire whether the Ambassador concurred in the matter of Hudson's travel to Russia for a visit with his daughter. On 7/31/52, Kennan cabled the Department that he and Mrs. Kennan had invited Hudson to Moscow as a friend of the family and would appreciate validation of Hudson's passport.

105-59630-3 ep.3,4  
(13)

Correlator's Note: As of 6/5/57, the identity of the Unknown Subject had not been determined.

Drew Pearson's (94-8-sub 350) radio broadcast of October 12, 1952 disclosed that Ambassador George Kennan in Bonn, Germany, had sent an urgent cable to the State Department begging Secretary Acheson not to kick Ambassador Zarubin out of the US. Kennan stated that if Zarubin was recalled the Russians would definitely break diplomatic relations with the U.S.

94-8-350-491  
(26)

b7D

[ ] furnished a summary translation from the Lithuanian language of the 10/17/52 issue of "Liaudies Balsas" (The People's Voice) (105-11958) Toronto, Canada. Page 4, col 3-5, of this publication, under the heading "What is New in the World", indicated that the US protested to the Soviet Union for declaring George F. Kennan an undesirable person.

Translation enclosed  
105-11958-77 ep.73  
(12)

Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the US, Inc., NYC, was a member organization of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) but when it accepted financial assistance from the Ford Foundation (Free Russia Fund) some of the UCCA members attacked it

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Referral/Consult

because they were opposed to what they called George Kennan's (then director of the Fund) pro-Russian attitude, basing their interpretation on his stand on the nationalities question. [ ] 12/14/52)

105-11887-11 p.105,139  
(31)

On 3/19/52\*, NY 600-S furnished information concerning activities of Jay Lovestone (61-1292) and his contacts with Louise Paige Morris (not identified), Ernest Cuneo (not identified), and a person believed to be General William Donovan. Lovestone stated that steps were being taken which would destroy continuity of Civil Service and Foreign Service. He identified George Kennen as being "through"; also he felt that Chip Bohlen was not as well qualified as Kennen. Bohlen was being considered as an Ambassador.

61-1292-467  
(40)

\*Believe this should be 3/19/53.

b7D

[ ] furnished a summary translation from the Lithuanian language of the 3/20/53 issue of "Liaudies Balsas" (The People's Voice) (105-11958), Toronto, Canada. Page 1, col. 3 (Washington) indicated that Secretary of State Dulles wanted to expel George F. Kennan from the diplomatic service.

Translation enclosed  
105-11958-80 ep.13  
(12)

In Drew Pearson's (94-8-sub 350) Sunday Broadcast on July 19, 1953, he stated that George Kennon, former Ambassador to Russia, had secretly reported to Secretary of State Dulles that all of Russia's present leaders including Premier Georgi Malenkov would be liquidated.

94-8-350-546  
(42)

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D. Earl Wolf, 200 Mass. Ave., N.W., WDC, furnished a letter dated 8/24/53, directed to Mr. Busbey and signed by Eugene V. Brown. This letter pertained to an individual by the name of Wolfe (not further identified) who was an employee of the US Information Agency (USIA). In this letter, Brown pointed out that the hearing to be held in Detroit had been postponed. This hearing was in connection with Wolfe's part in the pre-1919 Left-Wing revolutionary Socialist activities which resulted in the birth of the American CP. Brown indicated that Wolfe had listed as a reference on his Form 57, George Kennan, former ambassador to Moscow and author of the Truman-Acheson "containment" policy. In connection with the possibility of Wolfe being a victim of the Reduction-in-Force underway in the USIA, Brown pointed out that it was possible that Kennan had sponsored Wolfe for a position with "VOICE" and that this tie-up might be the answer to the "pigeon-holing" of Brown's memoranda on Wolfe a year ago. It also was indicative of the forces which might seek to keep Wolfe in the "VOICE" despite any derogatory revelations, and which might make an issue out of his possible firing from the "VOICE".

The serial indicated that Brown undoubtedly was identical with Eugene Vincent Brown, subject of Bufile 123-740, Special Inquiry - State Department (Voice of America). The identity of Busbey was not known; however, the Congressional Directory listed a Fred E. Busbey as a Representative from Illinois.

Letter enclosed  
140-0-697 ep.2  
(33)

George F. Keenan, IAS, Princeton, N.J., advised that during the time he was Ambassador in Moscow, Elim O'Shaughnessy (77-60282) had served under him, and he would recommend O'Shaughnessy for a position of trust and confidence. Keenan said he had known O'Shaughnessy casually for many years but became well acquainted with him in Moscow (dates not indicated).

The preceding information appears in a Newark report dated 12/2/53.

77-60282-33  
(48)

Information concerning George F. Kennan appears in the following references relating to a loyalty investigation of John Paton Davies, Jr. (121-18528), Policy Planning Staff, Department of State, WDC. In mid-1949, Kennan, who was Director of the Policy Planning Staff, advised that he had known Davies since 1945 when they

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both had served in the US Embassy, Moscow, USSR and had been in extremely close association in view of their assignment at the Embassy. He regarded Davies as absolutely loyal. State Department files (protect identity) made available in 1953, revealed a 7/13/51 communication from Kennan advising of his desire to appear before the State Department Loyalty Hearing Board as a witness in Davies' case; also a 7/16/51 communication to Kennan, American Embassy, Oslo\*, granting permission for him to so appear. On 7/23/51, Kennan appeared before this Board and testified in behalf of Davies. In a Letter to the Editor, dated Princeton, N.J., 12/14/53, appearing in the 12/17/53 issue of the "New York Times", Kennan purported to exonerate Davies of any wrongdoing:

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

121-18528-16 p.8	(Not indexed)
-165 p.1,1a; Exhibit D	(Not indexed)
(Photostat enclosed, Exhibit D, p.1-10; Secret Testimony of Kennan, 7/23/51, before State Department Loyalty Security Board)	
-216 p.1	(16)
-241 (Enclosure: Letter to the Editor from Kennan, appearing in "New York Times", 12/17/53)	(16)

\*Norway

On 2/27/54, George Frost Kennan, former US Ambassador to Russia, was interviewed at his residence, 146 Hodge Road, Princeton, N.J. Kennan stated that he desired to make information available to the Bureau regarding the private correspondence of Alexander Gumberg and Raymond Robins (subjects of 61-1819) which was under seal in the possession of the Wisconsin State Historical Society at Madison, Wisconsin. He thought this information should be made available to the FBI as he believed Gumberg was one of the most important overt Soviet agents operating in the US. Kennan stated that he was personally acquainted with the Director and felt that he may be interested in this information.

61-1819-20  
(18)

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The following references in the file captioned "J Robert Oppenheimer" set out information pertaining to the activities of George Frost Kennan, former State Department employee, in connection with his association with Oppenheimer during the approximate period, 1946 through 6/1/54, in Princeton, N.J., New York City and Washington, D.C. On 4/20/54, Kennan appeared before the AEC Personnel Security Board in behalf of Oppenheimer in connection with a loyalty investigation of Oppenheimer. During testimony, Kennan furnished considerable information regarding his background in Government Service. These references indicate that Kennan was a friend and neighbor of Oppenheimer. They held many consultations, the majority of which pertained to Foreign Policy and Atomic Energy:

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-17828-786 p.35	(18)
-998	(42)
-1023	(42)
-1089	(27)
-1198	(27)
-1683 ep.1132-1202 (Background data)	(18)
-1809 p.11	(8)

On 10/26/54, [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] (protect identity), was interviewed by the Bureau in connection with the Boris Nicolaevsky case. [redacted] advised that she had done extensive research on the subject of Communism and Marxism which led her to the conclusion recently that the head of the influence of Marxists in the Government came from Princeton IAS. In this group she cited George Kennan. She advised that Kennan's writing had indicated that he was a Marxist in essence. She indicated that from her research, the dangerous lay also in those people who had influence in the Government, particularly the State Department. In this connection it was noted that Nicolaevsky's chief contact in the State Department was Kennan and that Kennan considered Nicolaevsky the greatest living authority on Russia and Marxism.

100-341171-14 p.2,3  
(29)

Information concerning George F. Kennan appears in the following serials of Bureau files on George John Neuman. A Photostat of a memorandum dated "At sea, May 25, 1942", entitled "Memorandum For The Files" and bearing the typed signature "G. F. Kennan",

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described Neuman as uncooperative and untrustworthy. George F. Kennan, 146 Hodge Road, Princeton, New Jersey, former US Ambassador to Russia, advised on 11/8/54 that he was interned in Germany with Neuman from about December, 1941 to May 1942. Kennan said he was a USDS employee both at Prague, Czechoslovakia and Berlin, Germany while Neuman likewise was employed at these places prior to the outbreak of World War II. Kennan said he did not know Neuman while both were stationed at Prague around 1937 and 1938 but recalled Neuman's presence while both were stationed in Berlin from 1938 until December, 1941 and during the five months both were interned at Bad-Nauheim, Germany along with other USDS employees. His impression of Neuman was unfavorable. Kennan said he did not recall writing the 5/25/42 State Department memo:

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-119154-7 (Photostat of 5/25/42 memo)

(Not indexed)

121-12742-40 (Interview, 11/8/55)  
-52 (Interview, 11/8/55)

(16)  
(16)

[redacted] (protect iden- b7D  
tity), advised on 11/22/54 that Boris Ivan Nicolaevsky (105-26316) had had contact with people in the State Department, including George Kennan who no longer was connected therewith. Informant said that Nicolaevsky was "sort of close" to Kennan; that Kennan considered Nicolaevsky an expert on Soviet Russia; and that they had consulted with each other on important matters relating to Russia.

105-26316-18 p.1,2

(31)

SI 100-360333-9 p.15

(30)

SI 100-360333-20 p.1

(30)

This reference is a telegram from Stuttgart to the Secretary of State, dated 11/4/54, pertaining to the potential round-world trip of Klaus Mehnert (65-4308), executive secretary of the research organization, Deutsche Gesellschaft Fuer Osteuropakunde. It had been suggested to Mehnert that he call on State Department officers working on German and Soviet affairs when he, Mehnert, was in the US. The telegram indicated that he probably would see old

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friends such as former Ambassador\* Kennan. He planned to depart Germany at the end of November.

65-4308-66  
(36)

\*To Russia.

WFO advised on 1/12/55 that according to James R. Barker, President of Capitol Films Laboratories\*, his company had Raymond Flynn (62-101780) endeavor to contact George Kennan, former Ambassador to Russia, through his (sic) friend, Sumner Lyons, a writer at Princeton, NJ. Flynn was endeavoring to secure the service of Kennan as a narrator to introduce an anti-communist film. The film had been made in Nazi Germany in 1942 and portrayed the operations of the Russian Secret Police. Barker advised that Flynn had played a very important part in the remaking of this movie and that was why it was necessary that he try to contact Kennan as the proper person to introduce this film. Barker advised that at the present time the service of Kennan had not been secured.

62-101780-16  
(24)

\*WDC

[ ] advised on 1/13/55 that "the Planning Committee of the American Institute of Pacific Relations (100-64700) at a recent meeting has decided to disband the AIPR." However, the same Committee was attempting to see a number of people interested in the Far East about a new organization to replace the AIPR. A proposal had been advanced for a New Asian Center (Asia from Pakistan eastward) in the US, preferably away from New York. Detailed plans for the proposed Asian Center had been distributed to numerous individuals including George F. Kennan, soliciting their comments and support. b7D

100-64700-1237  
(9)

The "New York Times", 3/6/55, contained a letter to the "Times" from former US Ambassador to Russia George F. Kennan, Princeton, N.J., dated 3/3/55, captioned, "Dealing With Soviet Russia, Ban on Moscow Newspapers, Ruling on Church Official Questioned".

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This letter pertained to the expulsion of Reverend Georges Bissonnette, a Catholic Priest, from Moscow. It was indicated that this action was taken in reprisal for the US refusal to permit further residence of Metropolitan Boris of the Russian Orthodox Church in the US.

The above information appeared in the file captioned "Boris Ivanovich Vik".

105-32948-51 p.8,9  
(13)  
SI 62-4270-198 p.14  
(4)

In connection with a group that the Navy might invite to attend a June 1955 conference at which security data of a classified nature might be discussed, a request was received from ONI on 12/28/54 for Name Checks (62-60527) on certain individuals, one of whom was George F. Kennan. The Bureau complied with this request on 1/13/55.

62-60527-41269  
(4)

The "NY Times", 9/14/55, carried an article captioned "Kennan Doubtful on Soviet Growth", subtitled "Former US Envoy Declares Artificial Prices Are Used In Reports On Economy", by Arthur O. Sulzberger. This article, datelined Milan, Italy, Sept. 13, indicated that George F. Kennan, former US Ambassador to the Soviet Union, "advised underdeveloped areas today not to turn to Moscow for a type of industrial development that 'Russia herself has already outgrown'". Kennan's statement came in support of a paper presented by Colin Clark, Director of the Institute for Research in Agricultural Economics at Oxford, on the second day of the world conference on "the future of freedom". More than 150 sociologists from the free world were attending this conference which was sponsored by the Congress for Cultural Freedom (100-115040). A photograph of Kennan was included in this article. (Further details on Kennan's statements set out.)

100-115040-A, "NY Times", 9/14/55  
(9)

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The "Cornell Daily Sun", Ithaca, NY, 11/1/55, p. 4 col. 3, carried an article captioned "Another Potshot at the Fund" by Andrew D. Kopkind. This article contained information regarding the Fund for the Republic (100-391697) which had published a book entitled "Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States". The book attempted to catalogue books, articles and treaties\* concerning communist influence in American life. Among the authors who contributed to this book was George F. Kennan.

Article enclosed  
100-391697-292 ep.2  
(11)

\*Probably should be "treatises".

On 2/26/56, NY 600-S advised that Louise Page Morris suggested to Jay Lovestone (61-1292) that Lovestone stop over at Princeton\* sometime while he was enroute from WDC, and have dinner with Kennan. Informant reported that Morris was associated with Lovestone in the Free Trade Union Committee, NYC.

It was believed by the NY Office that the aforementioned Kennan was George F. Kennan who was described in the "NY Times", 2/26/56, as the former US Ambassador to the USSR.

61-1292-1552 p.5,14  
(3)

\*Possibly Princeton, N.J.

The "Washington Post and Times Herald", 3/19/56 p. 17, in the "Matter of Fact" column by Joseph and Stewart Alsop, carried an article entitled, "The End of Stalin". This article referred to statements concerning Stalin that were made by Nikita Khrushchev at a CP Congress in Russia when Khrushchev went into great detail describing Stalin's past plots and counterplots. In raising the question of what this scene at the Party Congress "means to us" the columnists referred to George F. Kennan as having a simple answer to this question when he stated "that a morbid monster has now been replaced by jolly gangsters". In Kennan's opinion, Stalin was one of those whom the corruption of absolute power deprived of common humanity.

109-12-240-A "Washington Post  
and Times Herald"  
3/19/56

(14)

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On 4/26/56, George F. Kennan, former US Ambassador to Russia, and member of the School of Historical Studies, IAS, Princeton, N.J., was contacted in connection with a Bureau investigation. During the interview he advised that during February 1956 he received a letter from Joseph R. Starobin (100-51287), one of the editors of the "Daily Worker", together with a copy of Starobin's book, "Paris to Peking". The letter requested any comments Kennan might have with respect to this book. Kennan later wrote to Starobin and advised him that he would be unable to make any comments at that time. Kennan said he would like it made a matter of record that he had been corresponding with Starobin.

100-51287-232  
(8)

Referral/Consult

The following references in the file captioned "Visit of Soviets to Congress on Theoretical Physics - Seattle, September 1956" contain information regarding George F. Kennan, former US Ambassador to Russia, who then was connected with Princeton University, Princeton, NJ. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] On 9/27/56, Kennan advised the FBI that he desired (S) it made a matter of record that he helped entertain three members of this group, Nikolai Bogolyubov, Vladilen Barashenkov and Sergei Tyablikov, on 9/26 and 27/56. Kennan stated that Bogolyubov was a world famous physicist whom he knew while in Russia:

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

105-52368-14 p.1,2  
-19

(Not indexed)  
(32)

This reference is a Director's Office routing slip enclosing correspondence dated 12/20 and 21/56 between Alfred Kohlberg (97-2660) and Archibald B. Roosevelt, respectively, both of NYC. Both letters carried the marginal notation: "For Release: Wednesday Editions, Jan. 2, 1957". Kohlberg's letter was extremely critical of George Kennan, "...the nephew of a famous George Kennan, a foreign correspondent who was horrified by the exile of a few thousand revolutionaries to Siberia by Czarist Russia, back when we were boys." He referred to past activities of Kennan and to an article by Joe

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Also in the "Saturday Evening Post" of Nov. 24th, in the form of a recorded interview with Kennan, whom Kohlberg described as "Counselor of our Embassy in Moscow" who was "upped to Director of the Policy and Planning Board of the State Department." Kohlberg continued: "I have read several of his articles and two of his books, which he acknowledges were paid for by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations (not the purchasing public)." Roosevelt's letter advised Kohlberg that his judgment of Kennan was inaccurate because of Kohlberg's lack of knowledge of the English language. Both letters set forth a statement made by Kennan on 10/6/49, as contained in the McCarran Hearings, page 1556, to the effect that "...General policy in this country...is a constantly changing thing. It....."

Letters attached  
97-2660-69 ep.1-3  
(27)

A State Department communication, WDC, referred to a letter dated 1/21/57 written by Jacques Duclos, well-known as the person who triggered the expulsion of Earl Browder. This letter was directed to William Foster and was published in the "France Nouvelle", official organ of the Central Committee of the French CP. This letter summarized the current CP line with emphasis on international proletarianism, class struggle, and loyalty to the CP of the Soviet Union and was worded in the form of a warning to the American comrades. Duclos indicated that to turn one's back on the revolution, on Communism, and on the class struggle, it would signify playing the game of the Mr. X Plan (George Kennan plan of containment).

Add. info.

100-3-81-7790 p.2  
(27)

By memo dated 3/11/57, Bill Rusher of the SISS advised that reportedly about 60 men met on St. Simons Island, Georgia, in February 1957, to discuss world affairs. This was a meeting of the Bildersburg Society (62-103901) which seemed to have been started a few years previously by Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands and on a highly confidential basis. Several Americans including George Kennan were present, together with British Conservatives and Socialists, German Christian Democrats and Socialists, German and

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British industrialists, and representatives of the Benelux countries. Kennan suggested at one point (not known whether publicly or privately) that the US unilaterally should destroy its atomic stockpile as an "example" to the world, counting on world opinion to deter the Russians from using their own nuclear weapons. Opinion was divided equally among the German and British representatives, with the Socialists in each case agreeing with Kennan and Bowie. Assistant Secretary of State Robert Bowie argued that we should withdraw American forces from Europe and neutralize Germany. (Director's notation.)

Memo attached  
62-103901-2 ep.1  
(24)

References listed below set out information indicating that George F. Kennan was the author of the following articles:

<u>Title of Article</u>	<u>Comments</u>	<u>Reference &amp; Search Slip Page Number</u>
"Communism and Conformity"	Reprint from "New York Herald Tribune", 5/20/53, consisting of excerpts from text of an address delivered by Kennan on May 15 at University of Notre Dame (locality not given). Re- printed by permission American Civil Liberties Union, NYC.	61-7559-2-7933 (4)
"The Illusion of Security"	A 12-page pamphlet consist- ing of Kennan's speech (date not indicated) before an unidentified graduating class. Pamphlet published by Promoting Enduring Peace, Inc. (100-375019), West Haven, Conn. and furnished to New Haven Office on 1/18/55.	100-375019-72 p.5,6 (11)

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<u>Title of Article</u>	<u>Comments</u>	<u>Reference &amp; Search Slip Page Number</u>
"When the Russians Rose Against the Czar"	Article appearing in "N.Y. Times" Magazine, 3/10/57.	61-16-A "N.Y. Times" Magazine, 3/10/57 (3)

George F. Kennan, IAS, Princeton, N.J., furnished a letter to the Bureau, written in the Russian language and dated 3/20/57, which he had received from Svetlana Kazembek, Connecticut College, New London, Connecticut, the wife of Alexander Lvovitch Kasem-beg (100-46986) who defected to Russia. According to Kennan, it was his impression from the contents of this letter that Mrs. Kazembek was a typical emotional Russian, impractical and warm hearted, and that she was innocent of what her husband had done.

100-46986-116 p.2,4  
(8)

The "Oregonian", a Portland, Oregon newspaper, 5/7/57, carried an article captioned "2 Oregonian Reporters Win '57 Pulitzer Prize". The article indicated that Wallace Turner and William Lambert were named joint winners of the 1957 Pulitzer Prize for local reporting. It also indicated that the award in History went to "Russia Leaves the War", by George F. Kennan.

62-75147-40-275  
(5)

This reference pertains to 7/18/57 Name Check (62-60527) requests from the Department of the Army on certain individuals, including George F. Kennan, who were to be invited as guest speakers before the Corps of Cadets, US Military Academy\*. On 7/22/57, Army was advised of the results of these name checks.

62-60527-50195  
(4)

\*West Point, NY

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The "N.Y. Journal American", 1/2/58, carried an article captioned "What Happened At Paris Parley" by George E. Sokolsky. This article indicated that the role of the US in Paris was made more difficult by a course of speeches delivered by George Kennan, former American Ambassador in Moscow, who spoke over B.B.C. radio. The article indicated that Kennan and the Eisenhower Administration had not been on good terms and he was no longer with the USDS. According to this article, it was not known whether it was accidental or intentional that Kennan should have chosen the period just before and during the Paris NATO\* Conference to denounce American policy. Europeans reported that Kennan had knocked the props from under Eisenhower and Dulles. (Date not given).

62-104305-A "NJ Journal American"  
1/2/58

(24)

\*North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

On 2/4/58, [redacted], [redacted], [redacted] at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico, advised that a series of meetings had been held at the University by a group which had designated themselves as the Foreign Policy Committee of the Collegiate Committee of the United Nations (100-427954). Methods were discussed for focusing attention on American foreign policy and it was agreed that panel discussions would be held from time to time at which time prominent people would be invited to participate in the discussions. Among those to be invited to participate at a future date was George P. Kennan.

b7D

100-427954-1 p.4  
(21)

The following references set out information originating with a report of the New York Office advising that on 11/4/58, Sandor Hajnal, Secretary at the Hungarian UN Mission, NYC, contacted a Mr. Cannon of Princeton University, New Jersey on behalf of Jozsef Szall (105-72815) who wanted an appointment with Cannon. Hajnal indicated that Cannon was acquainted with Szall previously and when Cannon said he could not recall Szall, Hajnal identified him as former acting chief at the Department of Public Information at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Hungary, currently in the US as a delegate to the XIII Session of the UN General Assembly. On 11/5/58, George Cannon of Princeton University, New Jersey reportedly contacted the Hungarian UN Mission and stated that if Szall simply desired to see him for the purpose of a general discussion, he did not believe any purpose would

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(continued)

be served, however, if Szall desired to discuss a specific subject, an appointment could be made. Subsequent investigation produced information indicating that the aforementioned George Cannon was in fact, George F. Kennan (pronounced Cannon), a Professor at the IAS, Princeton, New Jersey which was described as a separate institution in Princeton, not connected with Princeton University. The Bureau interviewed Professor George F. Kennan regarding this matter, on 2/9/59 at the IAS and Kennan's account of Szall's attempts to contact him coincided with the previously reported information. Kennan advised, however, that he did not receive a reply from the Hungarian Delegation, following his telephone conversation of 11/5/58. Administrative data concerning Kennan set out:

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

105-72815-6 p.B,1,11,12

-7

-10

-12 (Interview)

(56)

(13)

(13) (57)

(Not indexed)

- Referral/Consult

(S)

List enclosed  
105-62469-14 ep.14  
(19)

The "World Marxist Review", October 1959, p. 6, published in Prague, carried an article captioned "Competition and Co-operation - Peaceful Co-existence" by Adam Rapacki. This article indicated that it was worth noting that the public all over the world heard appeals for co-operation with the socialist countries from such prominent figures in the USA as George Kennan.

See: Publications  
"World Marxist Review"  
October 1959 p.6  
(23)

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The "Des Moines Register" newspaper, 2/14/60, reported that the World Peace Broadcasting Foundation (100-432810) was a non-profit organization to multiply the audiences of leading speakers on the subject of peace. This organization was founded by William N. Plymat, President of the Preferred Risk Insurance Company, 6000 Grand Avenue, Des Moines, Iowa. According to this article Plymat planned to distribute a speech by George F. Keenan, former Ambassador to Russia.

100-432810-2  
(48)

The Lithuanian newspaper, "Vilnis" (The Surge) (100-5403), 5/31/60, p. 1 col. 1, in the column, "Every Day" by V. Andrulis, stated that Professor George Kennan, former US Ambassador to Moscow, urged improving the State Department and restoring its authority and said that the CIA had taken over a great deal of its authority. According to this article, "Another police department, the FBI, is also getting more and more power, but it is active mostly in domestic matters."

100-5403-351 p.45  
(27)

In connection with a Name Check (62-5) request received on 11/19/59 from ONI, regarding George F. Kennan, born 2/16/04 Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the Bureau complied with this request on 12/29/59. This request was in connection with a Global Strategy Conference that was to be held at the Naval War College (locality not given) in June 1960.

62-5-4652  
(4)

"The Evening Star", WDC, 11/27/60, p. C-3, carried an article captioned "Session On Fundamentals U.S. - Soviet Survival Conference" by William Benton. This article, datelined Southport, Conn., reported on meetings held at Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, and in NYC, during the period, 10/29/60-11/13/60, between prominent citizens of the US and the Soviet Union, to consider human survival in a nuclear age. Twelve distinguished Soviet citizens active in science and the arts and in public affairs met and talked with a group of Americans of similar private and public interest. One of the Americans was George Kennan, former US Ambassador to Russia.

105-92156-A "The Evening Star"  
11/27/60

(32)

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The "Evening Star", WDC, 1/9/61, p. A-6, carried an article captioned "Thompson Shift Seen From Moscow to D.C." This article indicated that the man expected to succeed Ambassador Llewellyn E. Thompson in Moscow was Foy D. Kohler (77-81940), Assistant Secretary for European Affairs. According to the article, George F. Kennan, former US Ambassador to Russia, stated that he would be willing to serve in the Kennedy Administration if offered a post. Kennan, who served as Ambassador under former President Truman, was scheduled to confer with President-elect Kennedy in New York on 1/9/61; however, he said he did not know if this meeting would result in an offer to serve in the new administration. The article indicated that Kennan, who was associated with the IAS in Princeton, NJ, currently was serving as a visiting professor of history at Yale\*.

Article attached  
77-81940-21  
(7)

\*New Haven, Conn.

On 4/6/61, [REDACTED], [REDACTED], Research Section, Renseignements Generaux, General Investigative Section, Surete Nationale, Paris, France, furnished an address book of "Elfriede Eisler Pleuchot" (100-106997) (deceased). George F. Kennan, IAS, Princeton, NJ, was listed in this book.

b6  
b7C

Book enclosed  
100-106997-151 p.2  
(9)

On 7/26/61, [REDACTED], Clerk, Personnel Locator, Office of Personnel, Department of State, advised that George F. Kennan was serving as the American Ambassador to Yugoslavia in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, and was not available for interview. It was noted that [REDACTED] (161-997) listed Kennan as a reference.

161-997-11 p.3  
(16)

Miami Office communication dated 4/25/63, captioned "Council for Statehood, aka; ..." (157-758) set forth identity (address and occupation shown when known) of individuals identified for possible assassination in a booklet entitled, "The Secret

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(continued)

Government of the United States" by Mary M. Davison, Secretary, Council on American Relations, copyrighted 1962, and published in Omaha, Nebraska. The individuals were listed under Group I through Group IV and the Group IV listing included "George F. Kennan, State Department, U.S.A.". This information originated with [redacted] (protect identity). The booklet was made available to [redacted] on 4/5/63, by [redacted] of [redacted], Florida who said that it contained the names of people who were in a communist conspiracy to overthrow the US Government and that the most dangerous of the individuals listed had been checked off by [redacted]. She reportedly told [redacted] that these individuals, listed in five separate groups, would be the first to be eliminated if it were decided that violent action was necessary. [redacted], in furnishing this information, used the term "assassination" as a means of eliminating the individuals listed.

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According to Miami, individuals listed under Group IV were identified as the International Bilderberger Group, which was identified in the booklet as a top secret group of the invisible government dictating foreign economic and political policy followed by Mr. Kennedy and his administration. The Bilderberger Group was further identified as an international union. [redacted] advised that the International Bilderberger Group was unknown to him.

157-758-41 ep.25  
(16)

By letter dated 3/9/64, ONI, San Francisco, Calif., furnished to the Legat, Tokyo, the translation of an article from "Mainichi Shinbun"\*, 1/22/64. This article datelined New York, 21 January - Kyodo, reported that an announcement was made, during a recent "Independence Movement Fund Raising Meeting" held in a Japanese restaurant in New York, that George Kennan (phonetic) former US Ambassador to Yugoslavia, would discuss Chinese problems with Japanese scholars to pave the way for Formosa's independence. Kennan, commenting on the Cairo Agreement, stated that the decision to return Formosa to the control of Nationalist China without first consulting the islanders, was a grave mistake. It was reported that he envisioned a neutral and independent Formosa, without aggressive weapons, under US trusteeship, according to the principle of racial self-determination. According to the article, Kennan had been invited to Japan by Matsumoto Juji, President of the International Cultural Hall in Tokyo, to discuss the Formosa and Okinawa problems with Japanese scholars.

\*Japanese newspaper.

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ONI letter and translation enclosed  
100-427672-21 ep.4  
(30)  
SI 105-49241-249 ep.1  
(31)  
SI 105-49241-259 ep.6,7,8  
(32) (Proposed visit to Japan  
by Kennan in May 1964)

\*Japan 100-427672-21

On 4/27/64, [redacted] furnished memoranda containing highly derogatory information concerning various high-placed individuals in the US Government. Included was a memorandum concerning [redacted], former General Chairman, CP, USA, who had a [redacted] employed as an [redacted] at the [redacted], Princeton, NJ along with George Kennan and others who had been friendly to the Soviet Union. b6 b7C b7D

Memorandum enclosed.

[redacted]  
(33)

[redacted] b6 b7C b7D

100-364809-59 ep.1  
(10)

Professor George F. Kennan, IAS, Princeton, NJ, advised that he entertained [redacted] ((105-116110)) at a dinner party at his home on 11/2/64. He advised that [redacted] talked briefly about the recent changes in the Soviet Government and was interested in the effect of the elections on American foreign policy. b6 b7C

[105-116110-9 p.1; ep.1]  
(14)

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Professor George F. Kennan, School of Historical Studies, IAS, Princeton, N.J., advised on 1/11/65 that [REDACTED] ((105-54745)) a commentator for the Russian newspaper [REDACTED], visited him at his office on 12/23/64. Kennan advised that he believed that [REDACTED] had come to the US to cover the opening of the UN and had now returned to Russia. During this visit [REDACTED] expressed the opinion that possibly there would be further changes in the Soviet Government under their new leadership. They discussed disarmament problems and Kennan indicated that the Russians had taken too strong an attitude against outside inspection. Kennan advised that he believed [REDACTED] was trying to obtain some idea of the American public's views for the improvement of American-Soviet relations. Kennan indicated that [REDACTED] had returned to NY and had not acted beyond the scope of the purpose of his visit.

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It was noted that Professor Kennan was the former Ambassador to Russia and Yugoslavia.

[105-54745-26 p.1; ep.1] (13) (S)

The "New York Times", 3/24/65, carried an article entitled "Dodd Calls Kennan A 'Wishful Thinker'", datelined Los Angeles, March 23. This article stated that Senator Thomas J. Dodd, Democrat of Connecticut, speaking at a dinner, attacked what he called the "wishful thinkers and conciliationists and appeasers" who advocated a change in approach toward the Soviet Union. He termed George F. Kennan, former Ambassador to the Soviet Union, "one of the most eloquent spokesmen for the school of thought which holds that only our own prejudices and suspicions prevent conciliation with the Soviet Union."

Article enclosed  
94-4-4998-27  
(7)

In compliance with a White House request for a Name Check (62-5) on approximately 130 individuals including George Kennan, in connection with a seminar to be held on 6/14/65 (place not indicated), Bureau letter dated 6/11/65, furnished a listing indicating that Kennan was one of the individuals on whom no pertinent derogatory information was found.

Listing attached  
62-5-22685 ep.1  
(23)

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According to WFO letter dated 5/28/65, [redacted] advised that [redacted]

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~~X~~  
109-12-272-1099 ep.1  
(154)

Information concerning the activities of George F. Kennan during the approximate period, 1959-May 1966, appears in the following references which pertain to Yugoslav Intelligence activities in the US, and relationship between the US and Yugoslavia and between Russia and Yugoslavia. Kennan served as US Ambassador to Yugoslavia during 1961-1963. In line with his official duties he traveled throughout Yugoslavia and was in contact with Yugoslav leaders including President Tito and Marko Nikezic, Assistant Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and with Veljko Micunovic, Yugoslav Ambassador to the US. [redacted]

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[REDACTED] Subsequent to Kennan's resignation as Ambassador in July, 1963, the press indicated that his efforts to improve relations between the US and Yugoslavia had been hindered by conservative senators and representatives in the US Congress who were opposed to his views. A news article of 11/7/63 stated that Western diplomats in Belgrade were dismayed by the publication of Mr. Kennan's views on Congress in "Look" magazine and his testimony to the same effect before a Senate subcommittee on national security. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

<del>(X)</del> 65-57240-26 (Director's notation)	(7)
100-153262-554 p.13,25	(28)
100-346268-948	(9)
-962	(29)
-1036 p.4,5,16-19	(9,29)
-1370	(9)
-1649	(9)
-1655 p.13,14	(10)
-1694 p.1; ep.1	(10)
105-19600-161 p.1,3	(13)
105-115908-X p.1,2; ep.1	(14)
105-119766-X2 p.1,2 (Director's notation)	(14)
-16	(14)
-23 p.1,2	(Not indexed)
109-12-272-925 ep.1	(15)
-926 ep.1	(15)
109-237-72 p.1; ep.1,3	(15)

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REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

109-237-73 (Director's notation) (15)  
-91 ep.1,2 (15)  
-93 (38)  
-94 p.1,2; ep.1-4 (3/14/63 meeting with (15)  
President Tito)  
-A, Washington Capital News Service, (32)  
1/12/62  
-A, "New York Times", 11/7/63 p.15 (15)  
Referral/Consult

[REDACTED]

On 11/1/66 the San Francisco Office advised that the aforementioned Kennan undoubtedly was George F. Kennan, former US Ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1952 who was listed in the 1966-67 edition of "Who's Who in America" as [REDACTED] and as having the present address (S)  
Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Kennan's [REDACTED] (S)

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

105-90959-33 (Copy of document and (Not indexed)  
translation enclosed)  
-36 p.1,2 (14)

[REDACTED]

This reference is the yellow of a 2/1/68 Bureau letter to Boston, requesting a copy of the book, "Memoirs, 1925-1950" by George Frost Kennan, published 1967 in Boston by Little, Brown and priced at \$10.00.

A marginal notation appearing on this reference indicated that the book was received at the Bureau on 2/8/68.

62-46855-529  
(18)

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The following references in the file captioned "[redacted]" set out information on George F. Kennan, Professor at the IAS, Princeton, N.J. and former Ambassador to the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, who knew [redacted] personally from the days when he was Ambassador to Russia. It was reported in March, 1967 that Kennan was traveling to Switzerland to confer with [redacted] and to counsel her regarding her future. She reportedly was scheduled to arrive in the US on 4/21/67. Kennan advised the Bureau that [redacted] had requested him to find her a residence in the Princeton area. He arranged to rent the property at [redacted], Princeton, for a period of one year. She was scheduled to begin occupancy on or about 12/20/67. Kennan indicated that he and [redacted] were concerned over the possibility that some attempt might be made by agents of the Soviet Union to contact [redacted]. As of early December, 1967 Kennan had notified the Princeton Police Department of her intended residence and also had informed his contacts in the USDS:

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REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

105-163639-6 p.2  
-10 p.2  
-31 ep.1

(Not indexed)  
(14)  
(14)

[redacted] (protect identity), advised on 4/24/68 that [redacted] ((105-177408)) whom he believed to be a [redacted] at the Russian Embassy, WDC, had contacted him on 4/16/68 from NYC and indicated that he wished to see [redacted]. On 4/18/68 they met at the Princeton Club, NYC. [redacted] quickly discussed a translation conference to be held at Princeton during 1969 and wondered aloud about individuals in the Princeton area who were of interest to writers. He then inquired about George Kennan at the IAS, former US Ambassador to Russia. [redacted] indicated that Kennan was a friend of his and surmised that these two topics pointed to a single Soviet interest, the activities of [redacted], the daughter of [redacted] felt that [redacted] was assigned to develop information about her activities.

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[105-177408-16 ep.1] (32) ~~13~~

~~14~~ [redacted] advised that on 5/30/68, [redacted] employed at [redacted], approached the informant, [redacted] (105-148615) and [redacted] who recently had [redacted], at a restaurant in NYC. Later

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\*NYC

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that day they were conducted on a tour of Columbia University by [redacted]. During the course of conversation [redacted] advised that he met President Tito\*\* when Tito and his wife visited Princeton University a few years ago. He pointed out that one of his old professors at Princeton was George Kennan (former US Ambassador to Yugoslavia and USSR) and through Kennan he had met [redacted].

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b7C

105-148615-26 p.3

(32)

\*\*Of Yugoslavia

On 11/8/68, [redacted] (protect identity), [redacted] Connecticut State Police (CSP), Hartford, Connecticut, made available a list of names and addresses bearing the caption "Members of the Council on Foreign Relations". Included on this list was the name George F. Kennan, Inst. for Advanced Study, Princeton, N.J. This list had been seized at the residence of [redacted], a publicly self-proclaimed leader of Minutemen (62-107261) in the State of Connecticut, following his arrest by CSP on 8/24/68.

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List enclosed  
62-107261-32-57 ep.11  
(5)

"The Miami Student", student body newspaper of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio (94-1 sub 2114), dated 10/8/68, set forth information concerning the "Voices of Dissent" lecture series which would feature the topic "University in Crisis", at Miami University, 11/17-20/68. The third day of the program, 11/19/68, would feature philosophers of education. The traditionalist view in the Philosophy of Education had not been scheduled but George Keenan, former US Ambassador to Russia, had been contacted.

94-1-2114-41 ep.2  
(46)

[redacted] (protect identity) [redacted] Princeton University, Princeton, N.J., advised that starting on 12/1/68, a five day conference was held at Whig Hall, Princeton University. This conference was sponsored by the International Association for Cultural Freedom. Among those in attendance was George F. Kennan, former Ambassador to Russia. [redacted] stated that at a dinner meeting during the five days, George F. Kennan had the audience's high personal regard. Kennan said that he saw the young

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as ignorant, arrogant and "floundering around in drugs, pornography and political hysteria." Martin Peretz, Harvard University Professor, rebutted this statement by giving credit to students who dare go south in the course of civil rights and for awakening the nation to Vietnam. Sam Brown, Harvard Divinity student, reproached Kennan with evocations of Vietnam and police brutality. Kennan predicted that continuing student demonstrations would unloose harsh repression from the right and that the students could recognize that it was not only the threat of repression that troubled the older men, but the thing being repressed.

100-446997-31-4 ep.2,4  
(11)  
SI 100-446997-31-2  
(11)

The following references pertain to investigations and hearings of Congressional Committees. Information concerning George Frost Kennan was brought out in testimonies of individuals and exhibits, in referring to his writings, or review of his writings, and to his activities and/or his statements and views, and the conclusions he arrived at, in his capacity as an official of the USDS. Kennan's actual or potential testimony before these Committees and before a State Department Loyalty Security Board is indicated below:

CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS

REFERENCE AND SEARCH  
SLIP PAGE NUMBER

b6  
b7c

Senate Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations Hearings on State Department Employee Loyalty Investigation, on various dates, 3/8/50 - 6/28/50, WDC. (Exhibit - Verbatim Transcript of Proceedings, Loyalty Security Board Meeting in Case of [redacted], 5/29/50, New State Building, WDC, including testimony of Kennan on pages 2113-2127). (Hearings enclosed)

121-23278-267X12 ep.1265,  
1333,1334,  
1438,1440,  
2029,2113-  
2127,2473

(19)

SI 121-13347-328 ep.7-21  
(18) (Testimony of Kennan, 5/29/50, before Loyalty Security Board, Dept. of State, WDC, in the case of [redacted], Bufile #121-13347. Transcript of proceedings enclosed).

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CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS

SISS Hearings on IPR, 9/14, 18-20,  
25/51, WDC. (Hearings enclosed)

Supra, various dates, 9/26 - 10/10/51.  
(Hearings enclosed)

Supra, 10/12, 17-19/51. (Appendix-  
Verbatim Transcript of Round Table  
Discussion on American Policy Toward  
China, held at Department of State,  
10/6-8/49, Proceedings of 10/6/49  
included statement and questioning  
of Kennan on pages 1556-1565).  
(Hearings enclosed)

Supra, various dates, 1/29 - 2/21/52  
(Hearings enclosed)

Supra, 2/26-29 and 3/1, 3/52.  
(Hearings enclosed)

Supra, various dates, 3/10-27/52.  
(Hearings enclosed)

Supra, various dates, 4/2 - 5/29/52.  
(Hearings enclosed)

Supra, 5/2 and 6/20/52. (Hearings  
enclosed)

Senate Committee on Foreign Relations  
Hearings on Nomination of Charles E.  
Bohlen\*, 3/2 and 18/53, WDC. (Hear-  
ings enclosed)

House Special Committee Hearings on  
Tax-Exempt Foundations, various dates  
5/10 - 7/9/54, WDC. (Hearings enclosed)

\*As US Ambassador to Russia.

REFERENCE AND SEARCH  
SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-64700-1203 ep. 925, 926  
(28)

100-64700-1204 ep. 973, 1050-  
1052, 1128,  
1129  
(28)

100-64700-1205 ep. 1272, 1504,  
1554, 1556-  
1565, 1577,  
1583, 1585,  
1587, 1592,  
1673  
(28)

100-64700-1209 ep. 2515  
(28)

100-64700-1210 ep. 3000, 3008,  
3010, 3011,  
3048, 3076  
(8)

100-64700-1212 ep. 3986, 3987,  
3990, 3995,  
3996  
(28)

100-64700-1214 ep. 4841  
(8)

100-64700-1215 ep. 4944, 5314  
(28)

77-56416-116 ep. 4, 5, 10, 128  
(26)

100-385355-42 ep. 347, 348  
(11)

~~SECRET~~

CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS

~~SECRET~~

REFERENCE AND SEARCH  
SLIP PAGE NUMBER

House Report, Minority Views of  
Special Committee to Investigate  
Tax Exempt Foundations, 12/16/54  
(Report enclosed)

100-385355-37 ep.190,306  
(11,19)

House Foreign Affairs Committee  
Review of Foreign Aid Program, WDC,  
beginning 10/9/56 -  
(Kennan to appear as witness before  
Committee on 10/11/56.)

62-61687-A, "Washington Post  
and Times  
Herald",  
10/11/56, p.17  
(5)

Senate Subcommittee studying ways  
of improving Government policy  
machinery. (Kennan gave prepared  
testimony on 5/26/60.)

62-39749-A, Washington  
Capital News  
Service, 5/26/60  
(4)

SISS Hearings on Control of Exports  
of Strategic Materials to Communist  
Countries, 10/26/62, NYC. (Photostat  
of Report of Proceedings enclosed.)

62-88217-2871 ep.74  
(5)

Senate Foreign Relations Committee  
Hearings (date and place not indi-  
cated). Article in "NY Times",  
2/7/70, set forth accounting of tes-  
timony by Kennan in support of bill  
introduced by Senator Mike Grovel re-  
lating to program of exchange visits  
between US and Soviet legislators.

105-32266-305 ep.1  
(13)

Correlator's Note: In connection with 100-385355-37 appear-  
ing on the preceding list, the enclosed Report included  
an Index to the "Cox Committee Supplement". Page 149 of  
this Index indicated that information on George F. Kennan  
appeared on pages 249 and 252 of Hearings on House  
Resolution 561, 11/18 to 12/30/52; however, these Hearings  
were not noted during preparation of this summary.

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The following books written by George F. Kennan are maintained in the Bureau Library:

TITLE OF BOOK

REFERENCE AND SEARCH  
SLIP PAGE NUMBER

"Democracy And The Student Left"  
(Published 1968).

See: Bureau Library. Author  
of: "Democracy and the  
Student Left"

(3)

"Memoirs: 1925-1950"

See: Bureau Library. Author  
of: "Memoirs: 1925-1950"

(2)

"On Dealing With The Communist  
World" (Published 1964)

See: Bureau Library. Author  
of: "On Dealing With  
The Communist World"

(2)

"Russia, The Atom And The West"  
(Published 1958)

See: Bureau Library. Author  
of: "Russia, The Atom  
And The West".

(2)

\*\*\*\*\*

REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY

The following references on George Frost Kennan, George F. Kennan, George Kennan and One Kennan located in files maintained in the Soviet Section of the Domestic Intelligence Division were not reviewed and it is not known whether they are identical with the subject of this summary:

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

[ 65-58068-863 p.2  
-2184  
-2196  
-2904 ]

(26)  
(37)  
(37)  
(7,18)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

The following references on George F. Kennan, G. F. Kennan, George Kennan, George F. Keenan and One Kennan located in files maintained in the Special File Room of the Records Branch, Files and Communications Division, were not reviewed, and it is not known whether they are identical with the subject of this summary:

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

64-330-345-273

(24)

64-330-345-1-154

(25)

65-37939-37X

(25)

-65

(22)

-163

(6)

-218

(6)

-264 ep.1028

(6)

-A "Washington Post" 5/23/47

(25)

-A "Washington Post" 2/26/50

(6)

-A "Washington Post and Times Herald" 10/23/59

(7)

65-41833-267

(36)

-272

(25)

-413

(25)

-745

(36)

-901

(36)

100-358267-29

(10)

-31

(10)

-32

(10)

105-12189-1479

(31)

-1978

(48)

105-43723-106

(31)

105-67845-11

(13)

-33134

(32)

The following references on George Kennan and George Kennon located in the Personnel Records Unit of the Records Branch, Files and Communications Division were not reviewed, and it is not known whether they are identical with the subject of this summary:

(continued)

~~SECRET~~



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(continued)

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

Personnel Out of Service

(42)

67-161530-319

(26)

The following references on George Frost Kennan, George F. Kennan and George Frost Keenan have been reviewed and are identical with the subject, however, the information pertains to highly sensitive investigations and is not being included:

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

64-7085-3 (Interview)  
-37 (Interview)

(18)  
(6)

64-20026-2153 ep. 1

(48)

64-30888-3 p. 4,5

(6)

See the search slip filed behind file for references on George F. Kennan, One Kennan, One Keenan and George Cannon which are logs and therefore have not been abstracted.

See the search slip filed behind file for other references on this subject which contain the same information (SI) that is set out in the main file. Although the information is the same it may have been received from different sources.

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July 14, 1970

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 BJA/Daw  
ON 11-5-99

BY LIAISON

# 410933

Honorable Alexander P. Butterfield  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Butterfield:

Reference is made to your name check request concerning [redacted] and some other individuals.

Attached are separate memoranda concerning the following individuals:

b6  
b7C

Mr. and Mrs. George F. Kennan

This letter of transmittal may be declassified when the enclosure bearing a classification is removed.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosures (15)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosures (sent direct)
- 1 - Mr. Gale - Enclosures (sent direct)

JCF:mcb

55 JUL 28 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~SECRET~~

161-28752  
RECORDED  
145 JUL 19 1970

JUL 16 1970

ORIGINAL FILED IN 77-25704-92